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RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

THE POETS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.— WILLIAM COWPER.

An Address delivered by the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., at the Annual Meeting of the Archæological Society at Chicheley Hall, July 15, 1869.

The County of Buckingham can claim the honour of an association with several poets of distinction.

Edmund Waller, born at Coleshill, a detached portion of Hertfordshire in the parish of Amersham, March 30, 1605, was essentially a Buckinghamshire man. His father held a considerable estate in that parish. His mother was of the family of Hampden. The poet represented Amersham in two or three successive parliaments. He was successful as an orator, more so than as a statesman. In this latter capacity, if we may accept Clarendon's estimate of him, he was timorous and vacillating. He died at Hall Barn in Beaconsfield, October 21, 1687, and was buried in the churchyard of that parish. According to the inscription on his tomb, said to have been written by Rymer, the compiler of the "Fœdera," Waller appears to have retained his powers as a poet to extreme old age:—

> "Edmundi Waller hic jacet id quantum morti cessit,
> Qui inter Poetas sui temporis facile princeps,
> Lauream quam meruit adolescens,
> Octogenarius haud abdicavit."

A far more illustrious name than Waller's is that of his contemporary, John Milton.

Milton was born in London, December 9th, 1608, about three years after Waller, though Waller outlived him thirteen years. He was descended of a good family, to which Milton in Oxfordshire gave its name. His father, a scrivener by profession, and a man of learning and accomplishments, provided carefully for the education of the future poet. He sent him to St. Paul's, and afterwards to Christ's College, Cambridge. Milton the father possessed at this time a small estate at Horton in this county, where his son resided with him for five years after leaving Cambridge. During those years he read diligently the Greek and Latin authors; and laid the foundation of his future fame by producing his "Comus and Lycidas," and perhaps also his "L'Allegro and Il Penseroso." After this he went abroad for some time; and it was in the course of his travels that he used those memorable words: "I hope by labour and intense study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with a strong propensity of nature, to leave something so written to after times as they should not willingly let it die." Milton was a striking example of the combination of lofty genius and intense application.

About the age of thirty-six his eyesight began to fail him, and at forty-six he was blind. But his spirit and his genius triumphed over this formidable obstacle to literary distinction.

His thoughts were at this time concentrated, it is said, upon three or four great objects: 1, A Latin Dictionary or Thesaurus; 2, An Epic Poem; 3, A History of England; and 4, A Body of Divinity. As for the epic poem, "Paradise Lost" seems to have been upon his mind from a very early period. It was first set forth in a dramatic form, after the manner of the ancient Mysteries. A sketch of it, in this its rudimental state, is printed in "Johnson's Lives of the Poets." Milton's blindness certainly retarded his progress in his other great literary pursuits; but it was no bar to his powers of imagination; and so the epic poem advanced while the other great works stood still. It is probable that the great poet gave his last finishing touches to this inimitable poem during his residence at Chalfont St. Giles's, whither the Plague in London had driven him in 1665. It was at Chalfont also that he received from his friend Elwood, the Quaker, the suggestion which led to the production of "Paradise Regained." It is probable that much of this poem was composed at Chalfont.

It may be interesting, in these days of multiplied authorship, to know what was the kind of remuneration that the most gifted authors received for their writings. The MS. of "Paradise Lost" was sold, April 27, 1667, to a publisher named "Samuel Simmons," for the sum of £5, with the understanding that the author was to receive £5 more when 1300 copies had been sold.

Milton died November 10, 1674, and was buried in the Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

One more poet must receive a passing homage before we come to William Cowper. Thomas Gray, like Milton, the son of a scrivener, was born in Cornhill, in the City of London, November 26, 1716. He was educated first at Eton, and then at Cambridge, where he entered as a pensioner at Peterhouse at the age of eighteen. There he spent almost the whole of his life; but from 1741 to 1758, his summer vacations were passed with his mother and aunt at Stoke Poges in this county. He was first publicly known as a poet in 1742, in which year he wrote his "Ode on Eton College." In 1750 he produced his far-famed "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." More than one churchyard is claimed as having inspired this beautiful composition; but there seems sufficient reason for giving the preference to Stoke. Mr. Gray was much esteemed by his contemporaries as a man of great learning and varied accomplishments; and it is no small praise of him, that Cowper pronounced him to be the only poet, since Shakspeare, entitled to the character of sublime. Gray died at Cambridge, July 30, 1771; and was buried, by his own desire, in the same vault with his mother, in Stoke Churchyard. Nearly eighty years afterwards a monument was erected to his memory by Mr. John Penn in the adjacent grounds.

Thus, while South Buckinghamshire is identified with the sweetness and smoothness of Waller, the strength and originality of Milton, and the flowing cadences of Gray, the North of the County has its compensation in being enriched with the pleasing measures of the amiable, gifted, and pious Cowper.

William Cowper, the son of Dr. Cowper, Rector of

Great Berkhamstead, and great nephew of Lord Chancellor Cowper, was born at his father's rectory, November 15, 1731. His mother, who died when he was six years old, was a Miss Donne, of a Norfolk family, well known through the learned and accomplished Dean of St. Paul's of that name. If it be true that genius is generally transmitted through the female side, it is to his mother that Cowper may have been indebted for his exquisite sensibility and refined talents. Indeed, Cowper seems to acknowledge the obligation. At all events, she must have been a very remarkable person to have left such an impression as she did upon her little son, whose verses upon her picture, written many years afterwards, are amongst the most beautiful of his minor poems :—

* * * * *

"My mother! when I learned that thou wast dead,
Say, wast thou conscious of the tears I shed;
Hovered thy spirit o'er thy sorrowing son,
Wretch even then, life's journey just begun?
Perhaps thou gav'st me, though unseen, a kiss,
Perhaps a tear, if souls can weep in bliss.
I heard the bell toll'd on thy burial day,
I saw the hearse that bore thee slow away,
And, turning from my nursery window, drew
A long, long sigh, and wept a last adieu."

Soon after this, his first great sorrow, the little William was sent to a boarding school at Market Street in Herts, where he was exposed to very savage treatment from a schoolfellow of fifteen years of age, one of the detestable race of cowardly bullies. The cruelty of this boy deeply affected him. In his own words he was so afraid of him that "he never dared to look higher up than his knees, and knew his dreaded approach better by his shoe buckles than by any other part of his dress." It is probable that this treatment, acting upon a child of a peculiarly gentle and sensitive nature, may have stimulated the growth of that mysterious malady which clung to him all his life, and at times altogether over-mastered him.

From Market Street he was removed to Westminster, where he remained till he was eighteen. He was popular as a schoolboy, and excelled in football and cricket. At eighteen he was placed in the office of a solicitor, Mr. Chapman, with whom he remained for three years. He had for a companion in this office, Thurlow, the future Lord High Chancellor. There could have been little congeniality between young men of such very different temperaments. But they were bound together by a mutual esteem; and it is greatly to the credit of Thurlow that he could appreciate the moral worth as well as the abilities of Cowper. Upon leaving Mr. Chapman's office in 1752, Cowper took chambers at the Middle Temple, where he had been entered April 29, 1748.

He was now twenty-one years of age, and at this period he became subject to a deep dejection of spirits—to that morbid melancholy which darkened so much of his after life, and from under the shadow of which he seldom, if ever, entirely emerged. He became from this time, to use his own figure, "as a stricken deer."* At first he found some relief from reading "Herbert's Poems." He then tried change of air in the South of England; and when looking upon some beautiful prospect near Southampton one calm and fine morning, the brightness and stillness of the scene seems to have penetrated him. All at once the weight of his misery was removed, and he became light and joyful.

Three years afterwards he moved from the Middle to the Inner Temple, about which time he was made a "Commissioner of Bankrupts." But the study of the law was not to his taste; and even then he was beginning, as he says, "to ramble from the thorny paths of jurisprudence into the primrose paths of literature and poetry." His biographer Southey informs us that he was at this time associated with several literary persons of distinction, as Colman, Churchill, Lloyd, and others; but he adds that his mind just then was "probably more on love than on literature." He formed an attachment to a first cousin, Theodora Cowper, sister to the wife of Sir Thomas Hesketh. But the attachment was objected to for more reasons than one; and the engagement was broken off, though the two cousins never ceased to love one another.

About this time Cowper obtained, through family interest, the "Clerkship of the Journals of the House of Lords." But the anxiety of preparation for the duties of this office, and the dread of the publicity into which it would bring him, caused a return, in an aggravated form, of his old malady.

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* "I was a stricken deer, that left the herd
Long since." "Task," Book III.

It now became necessary to remove him altogether from London; and through the interposition of that kind and tender Providence which never failed him, he was placed under the care of Dr. Cotton, an intelligent and most humane physician, then living at St. Alban's. In a few months the disease yielded to Dr. Cotton's judicious treatment; and again the afflicted poet recovered for a time peace and comfort of mind.

It is impossible to compare without deep emotion the sapphics in which he describes his state of mind while under the full influence of this dark and diseased melancholy, with his first Christian effusions of thankfulness upon his amendment. Let a stanza or two from each be quoted.

In his miserable dejection, when he looked upon himself as lost, and saw the light of hope gradually receding from him and fading in the distance, he thus writes:—

"Hard lot! encompassed with a thousand dangers,
Weary, faint, trembling with a thousand terrors,
I'm called in anguish to receive a sentence
Worse than Abiram's."

But on his recovery, his feelings of gratitude gush forth in words which must penetrate every heart:—

"How blessed Thy creature is, O God,
When with a single eye
He views the lustre of Thy Word,
The Day-spring from on high.

The soul a dreary province once,
Of Satan's dark domain,
Feels a new empire formed within,
And owns a heavenly reign."

Cowper remained with his kind friend Dr. Cotton for about eighteen months, and was then removed to Huntingdon, in order that he might be within easy reach of his brother, Mr. John Cowper, then residing upon his fellowship at Cambridge. This removal took place in 1765; and he entered his lodgings at Huntingdon, on June 22nd, in that year.

There was a family settled at that time at Huntingdon, of the name of Unwin, consisting of father, mother, son, and daughter. Morley Unwin, the father, was an elderly man, a clergyman, occupying a commodious house in the High Street, in which he received a few pupils, and prepared them for the University. Mrs. Unwin, whose fortunes were from this time so interwoven with those of Cowper, and who became, in fact, a kind of second mother to the poet, is described as "a person of lively talents, with a sweet and serene countenance." The daughter was no less pleasing than the mother. The son, equally good and agreeable, was a student at Cambridge. To this family Cowper was at once drawn as by instinct; and, in a very short time, we find him settled as a lodger in their house. But two years brought a sad and sudden change to the family. Mr. Unwin the elder was killed by a fall from his horse, in July 1767, and the little establishment at Huntingdon was broken up. Cowper and the Unwins had now another home to seek; and by the advice and persuasion of Rev. John Newton, the curate of Olney, who had some knowledge of the Unwins, and through them of Cowper, they were induced to settle at Olney. Here a house was taken for them, so near the Vicarage, that, by opening a doorway through the garden-wall, the two families could communicate without going into the street.

Mr. Newton's life had been an eventful one. He was formerly the captain of a Liverpool slave-ship; and having gone through many dangers and vicissitudes, he became deeply impressed with religion, and entered holy orders. Much has been said and written upon the question how far Mr. Newton's particular religious teaching was adapted to a person of Cowper's delicately organized mental constitution. And certainly the change from the calm and soothing influences of the daily service at Huntingdon, which Cowper regularly attended, to the excitement of prayer and class meetings, and of visiting the sick and dying at Olney, in all of which Newton required him to take a part, must have been very trying to such a tender mind, and such "a wounded and yet lively imagination" as Cowper's. Some have been of opinion that the life which Cowper led during his first years at Olney, had a tendency to increase the morbid propensity of his delicately balanced constitution, while others have thought that the best remedy for his disease of mind, was the powerful counter-stimulant of enthusiasm. For my own part, I am contented to believe that he was all along under the influence of a kind Providence, ever leading him "by the right way" to his heavenly rest. Certainly no one will question the strength and earnestness of Mr. Newton's religious convictions; and, doubtless, the circumstances in which Cowper was thus placed, tended to develop the moral beauty of his character. His religious spirit responded to real piety in any form; while his retirement, made pleasant to him by the society of those who loved and appreciated him, was favourable to the cultivation of his poetic powers.

During his residence at Olney, Cowper became acquainted with Lady Austen, widow of Sir Robert Austen, Bart., and sister to the wife of a clergyman then living at Clifton Reynes. She was a person of a lively sprightly wit; and though the acquaintance was not long continued, she helped greatly for a time to cheer him in some of his hours of melancholy. It is to this lady that we are indebted for the diverting "History of John Gilpin." One evening, when the poet was unusually depressed, she amused him with the outlines of the story, as one that she had heard in her childhood. The story was eagerly assimilated by Cowper; and it so tickled his fancy, that in the course of the night, he turned it into that ballad which has since been the source of merriment to thousands.

Cowper was an admirable letter-writer, an art which has certainly not profited by the penny postage system. In his letters his playful humour manifests itself continually. I cannot refrain from giving you one specimen, of about the date of 1783. A fire had taken place at Olney. In the confusion following the fire, a riot occurred, and many robberies were committed. A culprit was convicted of having stolen some iron-work, and was sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail, from the stone house to the high arch, and back again. Cowper thus amusingly describes the operation:—

"He seemed to show great fortitude; but it was all an imposition on the public. The beadle who whipped him, had filled his left hand with red ochre, through which, after every stroke, he drew the lash of his whip, leaving the appearance of a wound upon the skin, but in reality never hurting him at all. This being perceived by the constable, who followed the beadle to see that he did his duty, he (the constable) applied his cane without any such management or precaution, to the shoulders of the beadle. The scene now became interesting and exciting. The beadle could by no means be induced to strike the thief hard, which provoked the constable to strike harder; and so this double flogging continued, until a lass of Silver End, pitying the pitiful beadle, thus suffering under the hands of the pitiless constable, joined the procession, and placing herself immediately behind the constable, seized him by his capillary club, and pulling him backwards by the same, slapped his face with a most Amazonian fury. This concatenation of events has taken up more of my paper than I intended; but I could not forbear to inform you how the beadle thrashed the thief, and the constable the beadle, and the lady the constable, and how the thief was the only person concerned who suffered nothing."—*Letter to Rev. J. Newton, Nov.* 17, 1783.

In 1780, Mr. Newton left Olney, having been appointed to the Rectory of St. Mary Woolnoth, in London. But Cowper's genius was continually creating new friendships for him. In 1784, he made the acquaintance of Sir John and Lady Throckmorton, of Weston. In 1786, Lady Hesketh, now a widow, came to Olney, and took lodgings in the Vicarage; but not long after her arrival, arrangements were made for the removal of Cowper to Weston. Mrs. Unwin was still to him as a mother, and Lady Hesketh as a sister; and here, in their companionship, he fed upon the simple beauties of the park and neighbourhood, scenes which had always delighted him, and which he had constantly visited with Mrs. Unwin, while they lived at Olney.

Cowper's two greatest works are probably the "Task," and the "Translation of Homer." Of these, the "Task" is perhaps the most interesting and popular, because it reveals so much of the poet's mind, and illustrates his power of discovering the beauties of Nature in her simplest attire. It would not do to contrast Olney and its neighbourhood with some of the beautiful scenery of the West or North of England. The sedgy and sluggish Ouse will not bear comparison with the rushing Severn, or the sparkling Trent. But, nevertheless, Cowper has given a charm to this neighbourhood, and made it poetic ground. He does not describe the most beautiful scenes in Nature; but he discovers what is most lovely in ordinary scenes. And thus his poetical eye, and his moral heart, could detect beauty even in the low flats of the valley of the Ouse.

How beautiful, because how true to Nature, is that description in the "Task," where he says, addressing Mrs. Unwin:—

> "Thou know'st my praise of Nature most sincere,
> And that my rapture is not conjured up
> To serve occasions of poetic pomp;
> But genuine;—and art partner of them all.
> How oft, upon yon eminence our pace
> Has slackened to a pause, and we have borne
> The ruffling wind, scarce conscious that it blew;
> While admiration feeding at the eye
> And still unsated, dwelt upon the scene.
> Thence with what pleasure have we just discovered
> The distant plough slow moving, and beside
> His labouring team, that swerved not from the track,
> The sturdy swain, diminished to a boy.
> Here Ouse, slow winding through a level plain
> Of spacious meads, with cattle sprinkled o'er,
> Conducts the eye along his sinuous course
> Delighted. There, fast rooted in his bank,
> Stand, never overlooked, our favourite elms
> That screen the herdsman's solitary hut;
> While far beyond and overthwart the stream,
> That as with molten glass inlays the vale,
> The sloping land recedes into the clouds;
> Displaying in its varied side the grace
> Of hedgerow beauties numberless, square tower,
> Tall spire, from which the sound of cheerful bells
> Just undulates upon the listening ear,
> Groves, heaths, and smoking villages remote.
> Scenes must be beautiful which daily viewed
> Please daily, and whose novelty survives
> Long knowledge and the scrutiny of years."
>
> "Task," Book I. l. 150, etc.

Or again:—

> "My charmer is not mine alone, my sweets
> And she that sweetens all my bitters too—
> Nature, enchanting Nature, in whose form
> And lineaments Divine I trace a hand
> That errs not, and find raptures still renewed,
> Is free to all men,—universal prize."
>
> "Task," Book III.

Or, once more, those touching lines on the Poplar Field:—

> "The poplars are fell'd, farewell to the shade,
> And the whispering sound of the cool colonnade;
> The winds play no longer and sing in the leaves,
> Nor Ouse on his bosom their image receives.

Twelve years have elapsed since I last took a view
Of my favourite field, and the bank where they grew,
And now in the grass behold they are laid,
And the tree is my seat, that once lent me a shade.

The blackbird is fled to another retreat,
Where the hazels afford him a screen from the heat,
And the scene where his melody charmed me before,
Resounds with his sweet-flowing ditty no more.

My fugitive years are all hasting away,
And I must ere long lie as lowly as they,
With a turf on my breast, and a stone at my head,
Ere another such grove shall arise in its stead.

The change both my heart and my fancy employs,
I reflect on the frailty of man and his joys;
Short-lived as we are, yet our pleasures we see
Have a still shorter date, and die sooner than we."

Cowper's translation of Homer was the result of long acquaintance with the original. He had studied Homer with interest when a boy at Westminster. He read him again, with a friend named Alston, during his residence in the Temple. On this occasion the two students compared the original with Pope's translation; and they both came to the conclusion, confirmed by the general judgment of the literary world since, that Pope, notwithstanding his great merits as a laborious scholar and most elegant writer, had failed in doing justice to Homer. Indeed, it was Cowper's admiration of the original, together with his dislike of Pope's rendering of it, that induced him to entertain the idea of a new translation. Pope's version is indeed a paraphrase or imitation rather than a translation. It is, as has been well said, "Pope's Iliad rather than Homer's Iliad, a happy adaptation of the Homeric story to the spirit of English poetry."* Pope's failure must be attributed to the measure which he chose. He was an excellent rhymist and most polished versifier; but in his translation he has too often sacrificed the original to the exigencies of his rhyme and his metre. Cowper, in selecting blank verse for his measure, allowed himself greater freedom; and the result is that he made a great step towards recovering the spirit of the original. It remained for a great statesman and scholar of our own age, not only to surpass Pope, but to rival Cowper in the exactness, the elegance, and the simplicity of his translation.

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* Lord Derby, Preface to his Iliad.

But I must not any longer weary your patience. Mrs. Unwin's declining health and Cowper's increasing melancholy obliged them to leave Weston; and they quitted Buckinghamshire in the summer of 1795. A little incident shows how much the poet felt his removal from these familiar and much-loved scenes. While the final preparations were making for his departure, he wrote on the panel of the window-shutter in his bed-room the couplet, still shown to the visitor:—

> "Farewell, dear scenes for ever closed to me,
> Oh! for what sorrows must I now exchange ye."
> July 22
> —— 28, 1795.

Norfolk was now their destination; and under the guidance of Mr. Johnson, a relative of Cowper's on his mother's side, they finally settled at East Dereham, where in the following year Mrs. Unwin died. Four years afterwards (April 25, 1800) the poet breathed his last, still under a cloud of delusion, which proves that not to all faithful Christians is it granted to die in conscious hope. But the calm expression of happy surprise to be seen on his countenance after death, seemed like a reflection of the brightness into which he had passed from out of the shadows of mortality.

It is impossible to contemplate the life of Cowper and not be moved to sympathy and admiration. Struggling, as he did, through all his life, with disease of mind, through some mystery of his original organization, he was nevertheless most mercifully preserved, and enabled to cultivate successfully those higher gifts which God had bestowed upon him. His piety, his genius, and his sorrows attracted to him the warm sympathies of the good, the gifted, and the gentle. Most men owe much to the ministries of women; but perhaps there never was an instance of one more indebted to these ministries than Cowper. In Mrs. Unwin and Lady Hesketh more especially, he found gentle spirits who could soothe him in his despondency, and by whose support he was enabled to exercise powers which might otherwise have been extinguished. Sad as is his history, he was, through his faith in God, yet able to hold on to the end. It is refreshing to notice how, when at times he saw Revelation through a dark and troubled medium, and was haunted by the delusion that he was the victim of a horrible decree, the bright countenance of living Nature could calm his mind, and give him a peace and a hope which he was altogether right in ascribing to the Spirit of God. The places frequented by such a man are consecrated places. His spirit seems still to hover around them; and as we pass amongst them, we tread with lighter step, and speak with softer tones. The poet's history can never be separated from the scenes which we have this day been visiting; and this must be my excuse for having introduced a subject which some might possibly deem to be irrelevant. But surely antiquarians and archæologists may learn a lesson from the scenes of Cowper's literary labours. It has been well said that:—

> "Past and Future are the wings
> On whose support, harmoniously conjoined,
> Moves the great spirit of human knowledge." *

It is true that our business lies chiefly with the past. The objects which we investigate are objects which derive their interest from their antiquity—objects which have come down to us from remote ages, and have hitherto escaped the ravages of time. But there is a Present, as well as a Past and a Future; and to the Present, not less than to the Past or the Future, belong the triumphs of genius and the victories of grace. Their influence is undying. They live in every age in the hearts of those who can appreciate them, and who strive, however humbly, to imitate them. Moreover, the face of Nature, in which Cowper beheld the reflections of Deity, is no less pleasant to all those who look on it aright, than it was to him. It has still the same intrinsic power. It looks on sad hearts to cheer them, on intellectual hearts to elevate them, on faithful hearts to strengthen them. Nay more, in its continual renewal, it is the type of an unfading Spring, and the pledge of an everlasting Day; the

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* Wordsworth.

earnest of the reunion in the world to come, of all those in every age who have loved what is Beautiful, and followed what is True.

E. B.

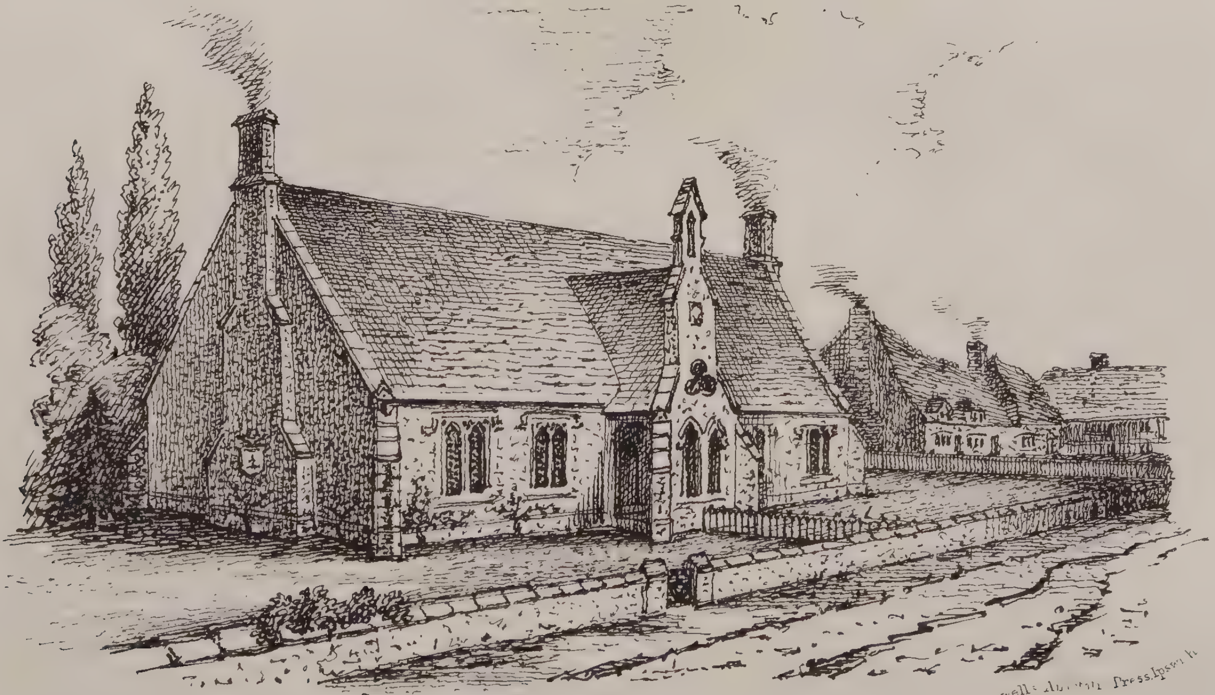
WOOBURN.

A very handsome restoration of Wooburn Church has been completed, and was reopened by the Bishop of Oxford, October 14, 1869. Some account of the parish and its history may be suitable before giving details of the work. The parish is very extensive, and lies chiefly in the valley extending from Cookham Bridge (across the Thames) to Loudwater in High Wycombe parish, but it also reaches up the hills to Beaconsfield and Penn on the one side, and Flackwell Heath and Little Marlow on the other.

"Wooburn, Waborne, Uburn, Ugbourne, as it is variously spelt," we learn from Langley's History of the Hundred of Desborough, "signifies, a winding, deep and narrow valley, with a rivulet at the bottom, and the declivities interspersed with trees." This is a fair description of the place, and the views are very beautiful from the different hills on both sides. The parish is composed of various hamlets:—the Town, Wooburn Green, the Moor, Berghers Hill, Holtspur, Northern Woods, Cores End, Egham's Green, Spring Gardens, Bourne End, Havens Lea, Harvest Hill, and the Common.

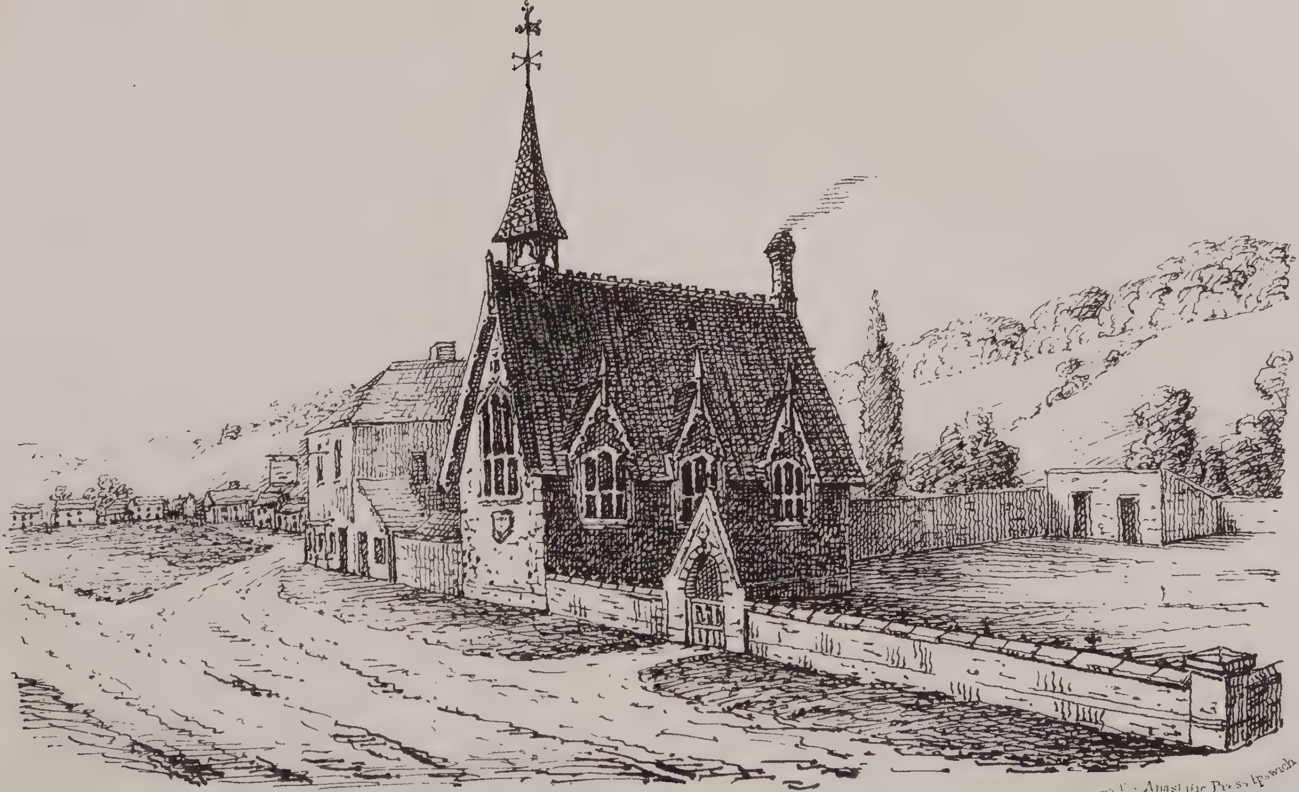
On the stream, which runs through the whole extent of the parish, are several paper, millboard, and corn mills. In former days the making of lace was a most profitable employment: in the Rev. D. Lyson's *Magna Britannia* we read, "Lace-making is carried on to a very great extent in the hundreds of Burnham and Desborough, particularly in the parish of Wooburn, where lace of a high price is made in considerable quantities." A woman is still living who made the lace for the Princess Charlotte's wedding dress.

Earl Harold held the manor of Wooburn before the Norman invasion. William the Conqueror subsequently (A. D. 1066) divided it into two manors, bestowing one



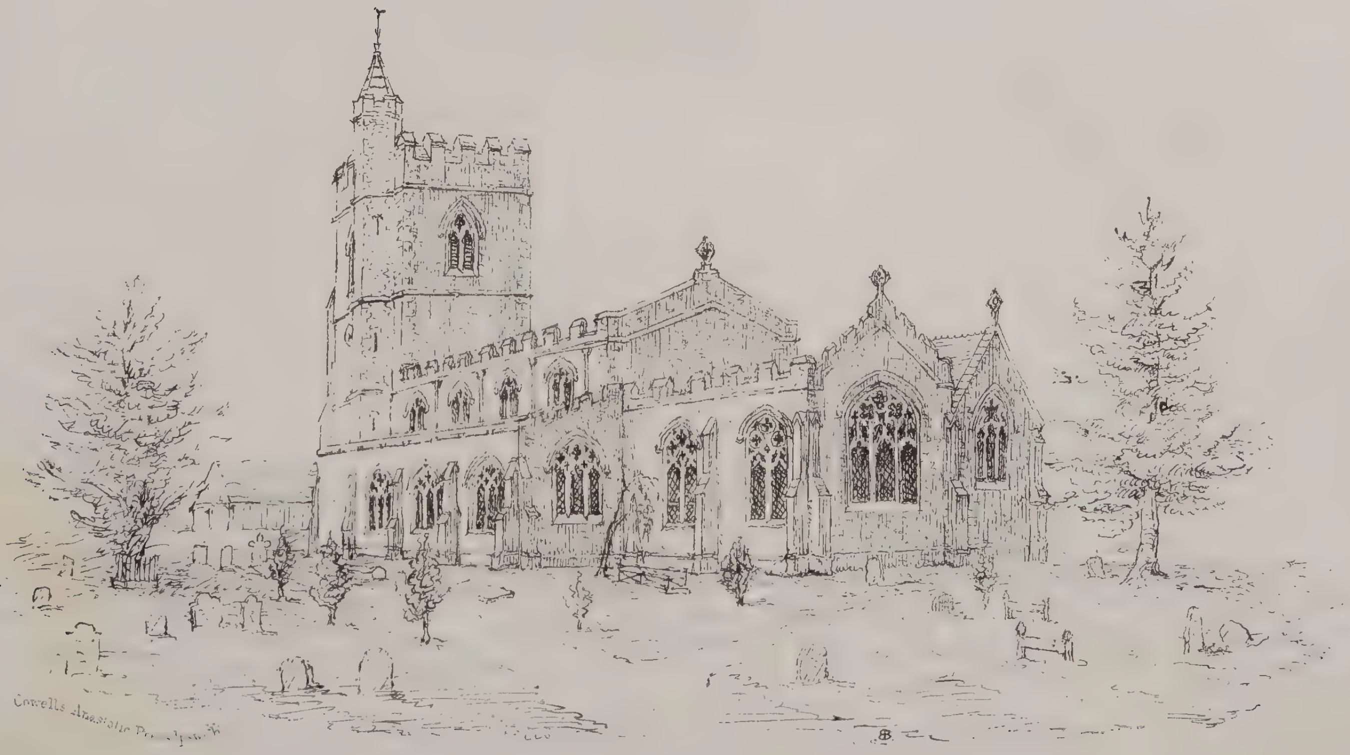
Cowell's Anastatic Press, Ipswich

Boys & Girls School, Wooburn Town.

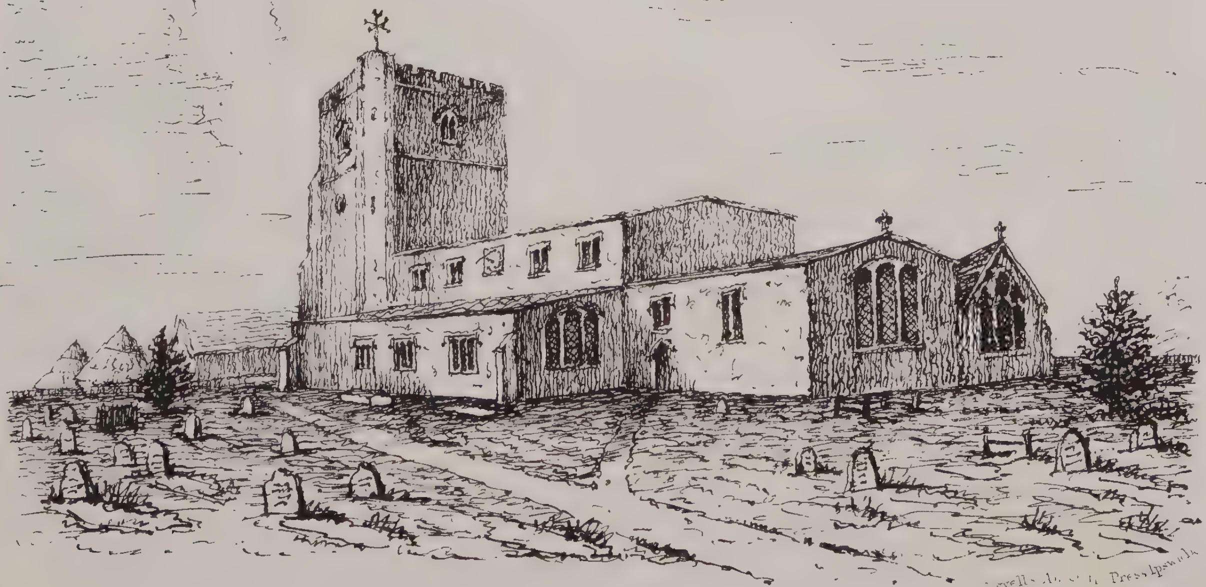


Cowell's Anastatic Press Ipswich

Infant School, Wooburn Green.

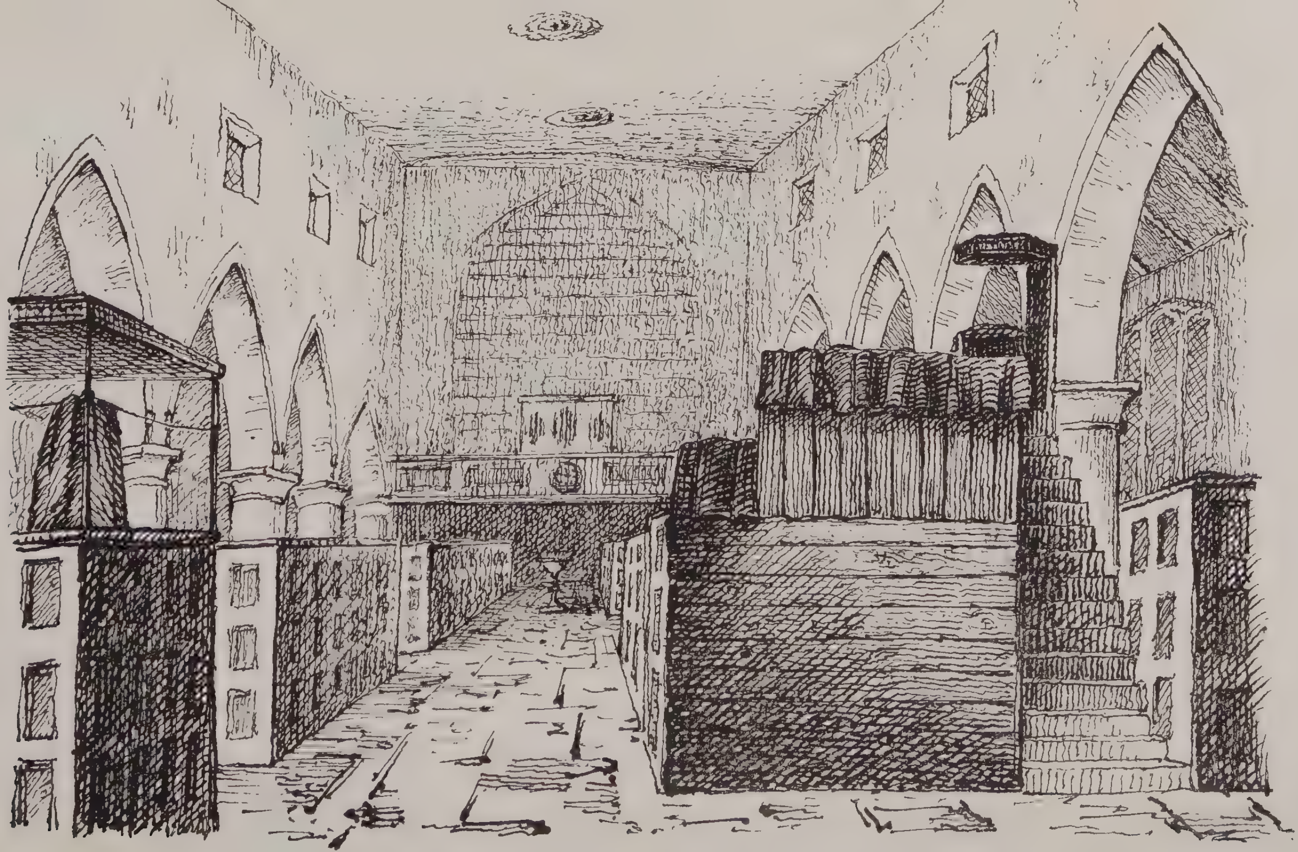


Exterior of Woburn Church. Restored.



Cowell's Anastatic Press Ipswich

Wooburn Church, before Restoration.



Wooburn Church, looking West. 1856.

SPIRIT
TRUTH
UNTO ME ALL
CHARITY

(Bishop's Wooburn) on his cousin, Remegius, Bishop of Lincoln; and the other Wooburn (Deyn Court) on another relative, Walter Deyncourt. The mansion of the latter was adjoining the church; and Wooburn House, on the manor of Bishop's Wooburn, became the Palace of the Bishops of Lincoln. In 1330 the living became a vicarage, the great tithes having been appropriated to the see by Bishop D'Alderby, by leave of the Pope, on the Bishop's temporalities being seized. These were Romish days, and in Bishop Smith's time (who died 1513), fearful persecutions were carried on at Wooburn House. "Thomas Chase, of Amersham, was thrust into the prison, *Little Ease*, in the Bishop's Palace. Chase was brought before the Bishop, and after much cruelty, was bound with chains, gyves, and manacles, and put into this wretched prison. When they could not prevail on him to deny his faith, they strangled him, as was witnessed by the keeper of the prison. They then secretly buried him in Norland Wood, in the way between Wooburn and Little Marlow."—*Fox*, page 711. "Thomas Harding, of Chesham, was found guilty of having certain books in English of the Holy Scriptures under the boards of a floor. He was brought before Bishop Longland, at Wooburn Palace, who, with his chaplains, grossly insulted him, and put him in the prison of *Little Ease*. The Bishop condemned him to the flames, which sentence was carried out by Roland Messenger, Vicar of High Wycombe, in the dell going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham."—*Fox*, page 896.

Bishop Atwater succeeded Bishop Smith: he had been Fellow of Eton, and he died at Wooburn Palace 1520. Bishop Longland, confessor to King Henry VIII., laid out considerable sums on the Palace, and gave the second bell to Wooburn Church. He died May 7, 1547, at Wooburn, and was buried in Eton College Chapel. Bishop Henry Holbeach, on succeeding to this bishopric, at once exchanged the manor of Wooburn. The Crown then granted it to John, first Earl of Bedford, whose son sold it to Sir John Goodwin, 1580.

Wooburn Deyncourt continued in the Deyncourt family till William Lord Deyncourt, dying 1422, was succeeded by his sister Alice,* who married William

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* His other sister, Margaret, married Lord Protector Cromwell.

Lord Lovell. On her decease, Francis, Viscount Lovell, her grandson, succeeded to Wooburn Deyncourt. He was attainted on the accession of Henry VII. Sir William Compton, received the manor of Deyncourt from the king; he resided at Wooburn, and was ranger of the great park at Windsor. He died 1530.

The manor subsequently reverted to the Crown, and Queen Elizabeth granted the perpetuity of it to the Spensers. Sir William Spenser's daughter married Sir John Goodwin of Bishop's Wooburn, and thus the two manors (Bishop's Wooburn and Wooburn Deyncourt) were again united, 1580.

Philip Lord Wharton, 1637, who married Jane, heiress to the Goodwin family, became possessor of the Wooburn estates, and resided at Wooburn House.

Langley says: "At the commencement of the civil wars, his lordship attached himself to the Parliament. At the conclusion of this unsettled period, when Cromwell had usurped the whole sovereignty, he was made one of his lords, and sat in the Upper House: and having taken no decided part in the execution of King Charles I., he was permitted to retire, at the Restoration, into peace and privacy."

Although the first draft of the invitation to the Prince of Orange was drawn up by his son, Phillip Lord Wharton went himself to the Hague, to confer with the Prince on the subject of his accession. He subsequently had the honour of receiving a visit from King William III. at his mansion at Wooburn. Six years after the accession Lord Wharton died, 1694, and was buried in Wooburn Church. To perpetuate his memory, a handsome monument was erected in the chancel, with a Latin inscription, of which the following is a translation:—

"SACRED TO POSTERITY.

"Here wait for the second advent of Jesus Christ, the remains of Philip, Lord Wharton, Baron of Wharton; who descended from the very noble family of the Whartons, in the county of Westmoreland, and became at length its heir and ornament.

'Worth graced his titles, titles graced his worth.'

"During the space of about sixty-three years, while he held, he truly adorned his station among the Peers in Parliament: a strenuous asserter of the Civil Government of England—equally the faithful respector, as well as the maintainer and protector, of the reformed religion; a pattern of good works, as much as of a lively and true faith: whose mansions were opened for a habitation and asylum to the suffering ministers of the word of God.

"To the destitute also and the labouring poor, he distributed largely every year: and with a noble example he bequeathed by his last will an ample portion of his property to be applied to purposes truly pious.

"Thus he lived, and at length, after various difficulties endured for God, the country, and the church, he calmly fell asleep in Christ, February 4th, in the year of our Lord 1694, about the 83rd year of his age."

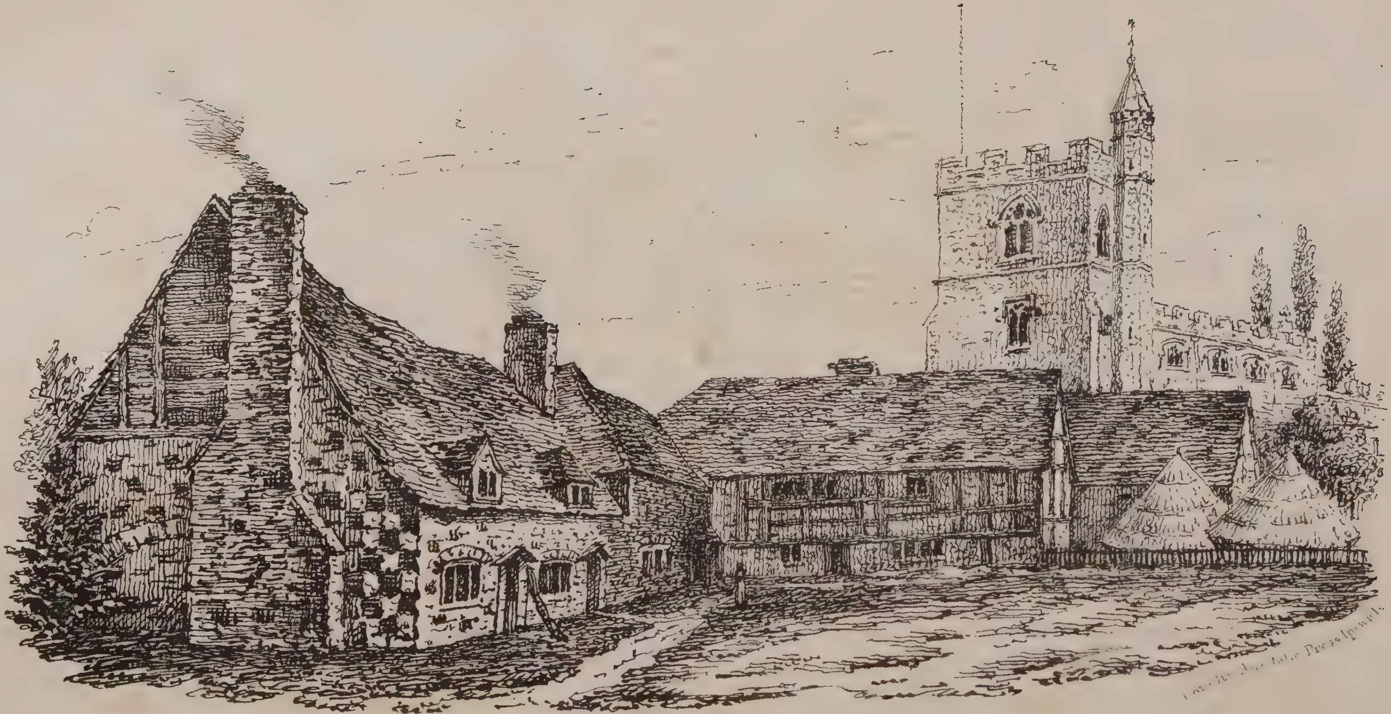
Lord Wharton was a religious man, and entertained the eminent Nonconformists of his time, Owen, Manton, Bates, and others, at Wooburn House. He had a beautiful cruciform domestic chapel, and they were invited to preach in it; crowds gathered from the towns and villages around to hear them. After service "his lordship would call out to the people from Wycombe, Beaconsfield, and Marlow, to go into his kitchen, and take refreshment before their return." His lordship bequeathed an annual gift of twenty Bibles to Wooburn, and also he gave a rent-charge of twenty pounds per annum to the Vicar for a second service on Sundays. The Earl of Wharton enlarged the gardens, laying out a continuation of terraces to the summit of the hill, and he is said to have expended £100,000 on the mansion. The picture-gallery was 120 feet in length, and contained the finest collection of paintings in England, by Vandyke and Sir Peter Lely. These were purchased by Sir Robert Walpole, and have since been transferred to the collection of the Emperor of Russia at St. Petersburg. The old palace was surrounded by a moat, and until the last century retained its ancient character of feudal magnificence.

Thomas, Lord Wharton, who succeeded him, was made a privy councillor, he was also controller of the household, and in 1706 the king created him Viscount Winchendon. His lady should have a place among the female writers of the last century. She wrote paraphrases on the Lord's Prayer, the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and verses to Mr. Waller, the poet, who had a seat at Beaconsfield the adjoining parish. Amongst others, the celebrated Dr. Owen was patronized by his lordship, and in his last affliction, he penned his final letter to his congregation from Wooburn House.

The Duke of Wharton, son of the above nobleman, appears to have been a perfect contrast to his father and grandfather. He was both wild and eccentric. He mortgaged Wooburn manor to Col. Chartres, who resided there some years. After his decease, the manor of Wooburn was sold to John Morse, Esq., who died in 1739, and was succeeded by his niece, Elizabeth, the wife of Peregrine Bertie, Esq., in whose family it continued till 1784, when it was sold to Mrs. Du Pré. James Du Pré, Esq., the present lord of the manor, inherited it from her.

The old mansion was taken down 1750, and the present one raised upon its site. Sir Giffin Wilson resided in it about twenty years, till his death in 1848. It is a handsome and commodious house, and now the residence of A. Gilbey, Esq., who has greatly improved it and the surrounding grounds.

In a sketch of the history of Wooburn the origin of Core's End Chapel should not be omitted. Much may be traced to the labours of the eminent Nonconformist ministers who were entertained at the Duke of Wharton's mansion; but the following was a main ingredient. Mr. Thomas Grove, was born at Core's End, Wooburn, where his parents had considerable property. He was a pious man, and having been brought up in the Established Church, he was desirous of becoming one of its ministers. With this view he entered, as gentleman commoner, at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. He there found several like-minded with himself. They united in private religious duties, for mutual edification. This was reported to the heads of houses (these were dark times, but let us confess it, and be thankful for brighter days) and six of them were found guilty of praying, reading, and expounding the scriptures. In the judgment it was stated, "Thomas Grove hath by his own confession preached to a mixed multitude in a barn, and offered up extempore prayer." To this Mr. Grove demurred, saying this was not even



Deyn Court Cottages, Farm, & Wooburn Church.
1870.

charged on his trial, and he denied it; however, he was put down guilty, and expelled with the others. Mr. Grove returned to his patrimonial estate, Core's End, and commenced preaching the gospel in his own house. On this proving too small, he fitted up a barn for the purpose; he gathered a following of 300; and the barn was twice enlarged before the building of the present chapel. Mr. T. English, a most estimable man, and of a very catholic spirit, followed him. One of his congregation, Mr. Wm. Davis, built Loudwater Episcopal Chapel, and Mr. Revel and others purchased and enlarged a house as the residence of the Core's End minister.

In 1806, the Rev. Thomas George Tyndale was appointed to the parish; he was probably the first resident vicar for many years. He built a school-room at Wooburn Green, and formed several useful associations in the parish. Subsequently he went to Holton Rectory, Oxford, and was followed in Wooburn by Rev. C. Bridges, author of "Exposition of the CXIX. Psalm," "The Christian Ministry," etc., etc.; Rev. J. Mortimer, author of "Sermons on Death;" the Rev. A. Dallas, author of "Cottager's Guide to the New Testament;" the Rev. Marmaduke Thompson, and the Rev. W. Du Pré, who was the immediate predecessor of the present incumbent, Rev. F. B. Ashley, who was inducted 1847.*

The Deyn-Court family had a mansion as already stated close to the church. The ancient and picturesque cottages adjoining still retain the name, and indeed formed part of the mansion. They present several objects of interest. There was formerly "a chapel adjoining the house, built in the form of a cross."

In *Langley*, we read "the church (St. Paul's) is a large ancient building, consisting of a nave, and two aisles covered with lead, with a good tower, in which there is a clock and a ring of six bells (two bells have been added since). On the roof are several Latin inscriptions in old character, much defaced. The font is a curious and very ancient piece of carved work, with some remains of arms, among which are three fleur-de-lis." He might have added that there is a deep chancel, and a handsome chapel, with a high pitched roof, on the north side. This side chapel was retained by Peregrine Bertie, Esq., when he sold Wooburn House, as a burial-place for himself and successors (the Earls of Lindsey).

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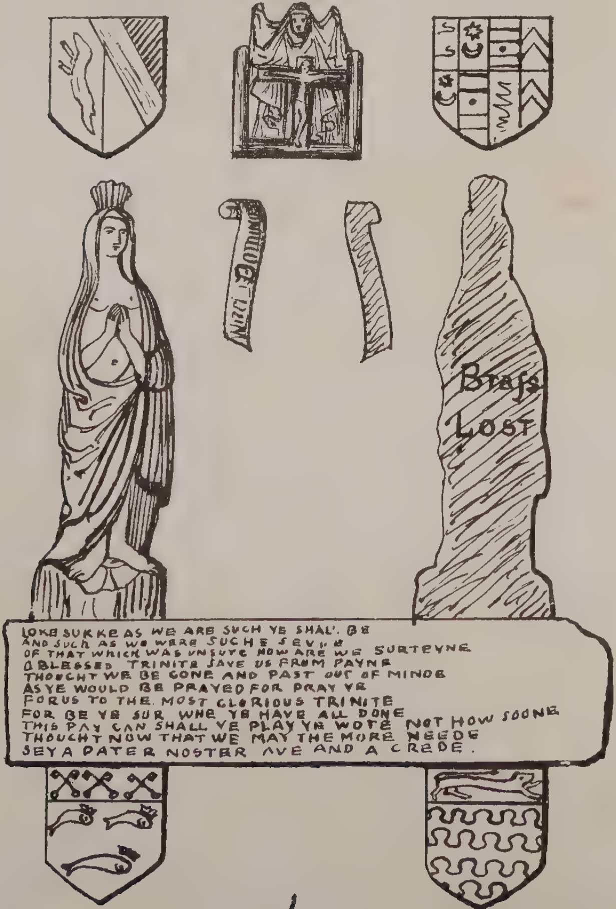
* In Langley there is a list of the rectors of Wooburn from A.D. 1216 to 1330; and of the vicars from 1338 to John Cleobury, 1753, who was also vicar of Great Marlow.

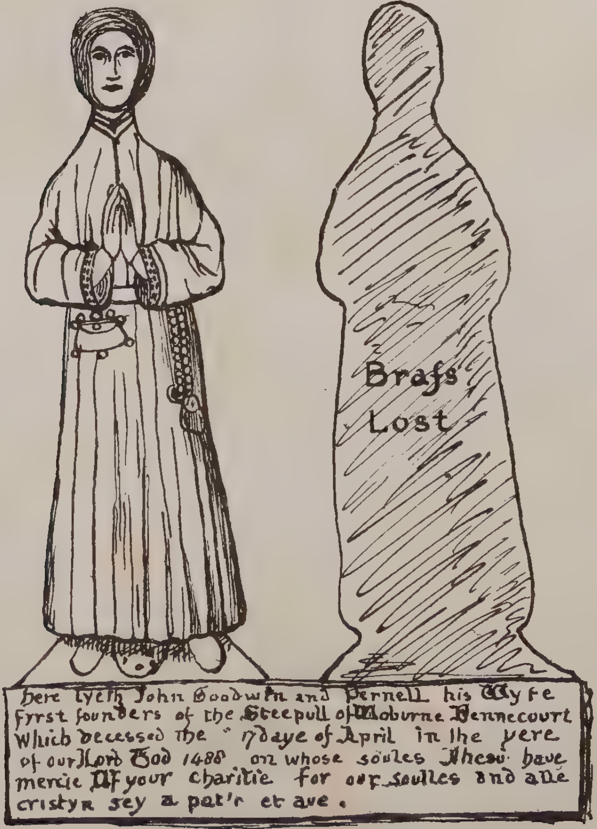
Langley describes various painted windows in the church. All these have long since disappeared, as well as the "curious carved font." At the beginning of this century there was a handsome stone porch on the south side, with a vestry over it, but this was removed, and the entrance built up. Probably at the same time the whole exterior of the church was covered with stucco, and the windows mended with wood and plaster, and a cement basin on a pedestal placed in the middle of the church for a font. Anterior to this, the large tower arch had been built up shutting it off from the nave, and also the arch entering the side chapel.

There are several very ancient brasses without date, but some are in good preservation. Among these may be mentioned the following: two figures to John Goodwin, and Pernell his wife, founders of the present steeple of Wooburn Dennecourt, dated 1488; a beautiful brass in memory of Thomas Swaine, a priest, 1519; and one to an infant of the Duke of Wharton's, 1642, with a curious inscription.

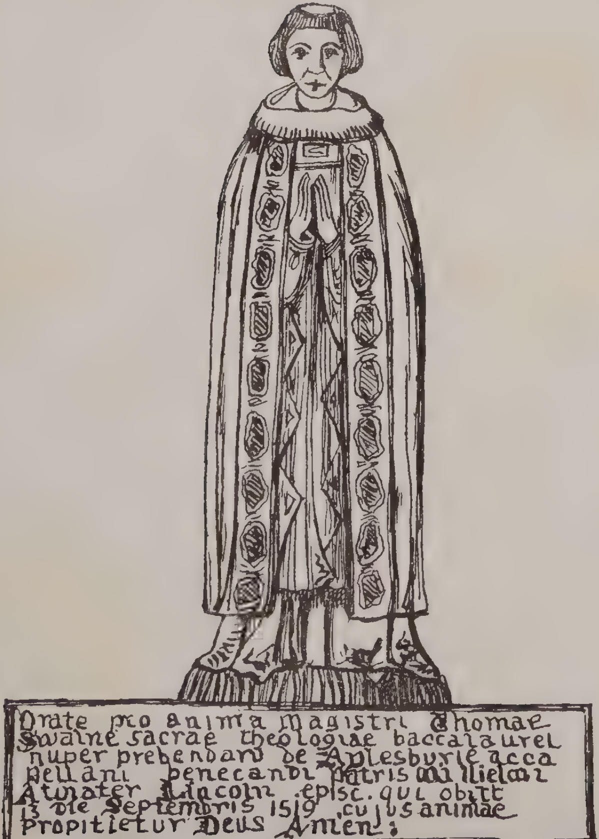
Twenty years ago the church was in a grievous state; not only encumbered with huge reading and clerk's desks, and high square pews, but the pavement and floor was gone in many places, the pillars cracked, and the foundations sinking. The vicar proposed its restoration, but as no such thing had been heard of in the neighbourhood at that time, there were great difficulties, and much patience and perseverance were needed. However, by the year 1856, after long efforts, the church was closed for restoration, and the handsome national schools which had been built three years before, were fitted up for divine service. W. Butterfield, Esq., was engaged as architect for the restoration. The defective pillars were rebuilt, the foundations underpinned from the inside, all the floors renewed, the chancel handsomely paved with encaustic tiles, the tower arch opened, as also those into the side chapel; the lath and plaster vestry-room which had been built up in the body of the church was cleared away;

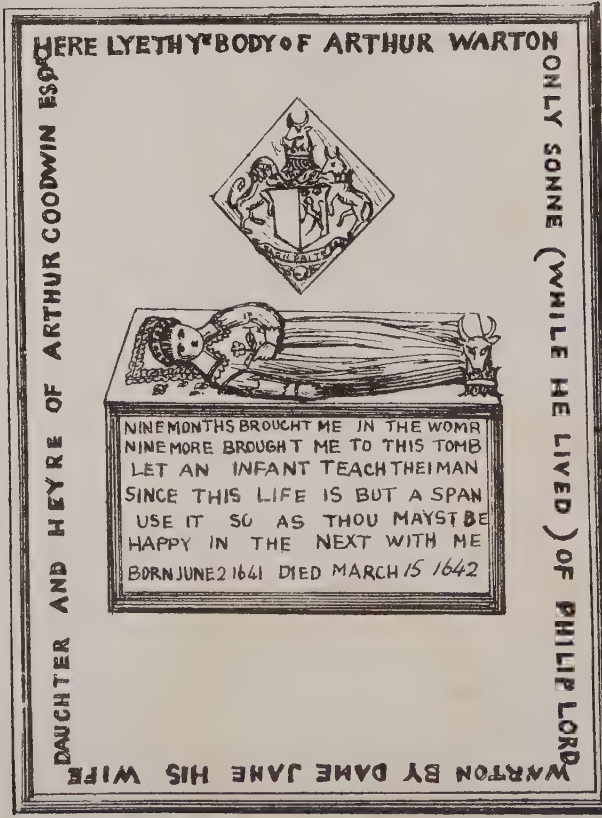


LOKE SUKKE AS WE ARE SUCH YE SHAL'. BE
AND SUCH AS WE WERE SUCHE SEVNE
OF THAT WHICH WAS UNSUTE NOW ARE WE SURTEYNE
O BLESSED TRINITE SAVE US FROM PAYNE
THOUCHT WE BE GONE AND PAST OUT OF MINDE
AS YE WOULD BE PRAYED FOR PRAY YE
FOR US TO THE MOST GLORIOUS TRINITE
FOR BE YE SUR WHE YE HAVE ALL DONE
THIS DAY CAN SHALL YE PLAY YE WOTE NOT HOW SOONE
THOUCHT NOW THAT WE MAY THE MORE NEEDE
SEY A PATER NOSTER AVE AND A CREDE.



Here lyeth John Goodwin and Pernell his Wyfe
Fyrst founders of the Steepull of Woburne Bennecourt
Which deceased the " 17 daye of April in the yere
of our Lord God 1488 on whose soules Jhesu have
mercie Of your charitie for our soulles and alle
cristyn sey a pat'r et ave.


Orate pro anima Magistri Thomae
Swaine sacrae theologiae baccalaurei
nuper prebendarii de Aplesburie acca
pellani benecandi patris Willielmi
Atwater Lincoln episc. qui obiit
13 die Septembris 1519 cujus animae
Propitietur Deus Amen;


HERE LYETH Y^{E} BODY OF ARTHUR WARTON
ONLY SONNE (WHILE HE LIVED) OF PHILIP LORD
WARTON BY DAME JANE HIS WIFE
DAUGHTER AND HEYRE OF ARTHUR GOODWIN ESQ
NINE MONTHS BROUGHT ME IN THE WOMB
NINE MORE BROUGHT ME TO THIS TOMB
LET AN INFANT TEACH THE MAN
SINCE THIS LIFE IS BUT A SPAN
USE IT SO AS THOU MAYST BE
HAPPY IN THE NEXT WITH ME
BORN JUNE 2 1641 DIED MARCH 15 1642

a heating apparatus set up; new open benches throughout the church were introduced; a stone font and also an oak reading-desk, lectern, communion rails, and Holy Table. Thus, the *interior* was most successfully restored, and opened for public worship by the bishop in the year 1857.

The plastering all over outside, the leaning walls, and debased windows, were still a wretched eyesore, but other work had to be done.

A new churchyard was needed, and a suitable one near the church was opened by the bishop in 1862. The new infant school, Wooburn Green, on the site of the schoolroom erected by Mr. Tyndale, was opened in 1865, and the restoration of the exterior of the church was commenced in 1868. This has been a heavy undertaking, for it included rebuilding some of the walls, erecting stone windows with rich tracery throughout the building, new foundations, removing the stucco on every side, substantial buttresses all round the church; the handsome windows filled with hammered glass of different tints, and very effective patterns; the entire church, chancel, chapel, and tower refaced with snapped flint; new battlements to the nave, chancel, and tower; entire new roofs, a handsome new chancel arch, a new clock and faces, a very handsome carved stone pulpit, and several stained glass windows. The mortuary chapel, north of the chancel, has also been handsomely restored and decorated. Among the windows is a very good one to the memory of a working-man, "the late W. King, above fifty years parish clerk, beloved for his piety, faithfulness, and zeal." The large west tower window is very beautiful, it represents the six acts of mercy, and was executed by Messrs. Heaton and Butler. The chancel arch, clock, stone pulpit, and four stained glass windows were gifts. The inside and roofs have been tastefully decorated, by Messrs. Matthews and Cobham, and the whole, both inside and outside, is now extremely effective and substantial, and forms a most complete and remarkably handsome work. The latter restoration was carried out by R. P. Pope, Esq. The patron, James Du Prè, Esq., and A. Gilbey, Esq., of Wooburn House, have been the chief contributors.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, CHESHAM, BUCKS.

BY MR. JOHN CHAPPLE.

The Church of Chesham Leicester, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, which has recently undergone extensive repair and entire refitting under the direction of George Gilbert Scott, Esq., R.A., was re-opened, December 9th, 1869, by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, being his last act in the diocese previous to his translation to the see of Winchester.. It is a cruciform structure, and consists of a nave with north and south aisles, central tower, north and south transepts, and choir or chancel. There are also a south porch with parvise and turret adjoining the same.

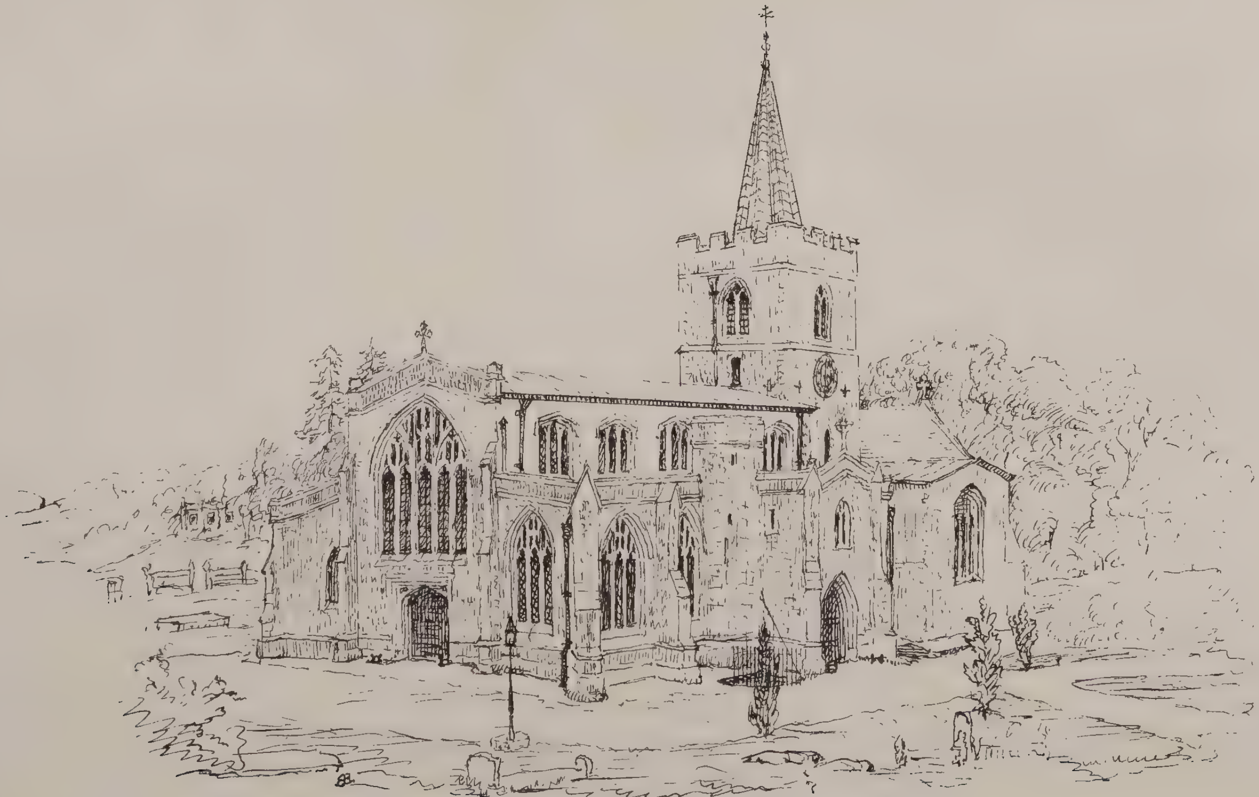
The present church is erected on a site, on part of which formerly stood a structure differing materially in plan and, of course, in architectural detail.

The ancient church consisted of tower, transepts, nave, and choir; the whole of which have disappeared, with the exception of a part of the north transept, in the west wall of which is half of a Norman window, dating from the early part of the twelfth century.

The external length of the whole building from east to west is 132 feet 6 inches; width between the outer faces of transept walls, 66 feet; width across the nave and aisles internally, 51 feet 11 inches; height of tower, 64 feet; and of tower and spire, 103 feet 9 inches. The axis of the chancel points 10° to the south of east.

In the early part of the thirteenth century a reconstruction of the whole structure was made; the north and south walls of the nave were demolished, and in their place were erected five bays and also north and south aisles: these latter were subsequently altered, as will be hereafter noticed. Evidence of the simultaneous erection of these parts is shown particularly by the continuation of the same line of ashlar from the nave, including a lancet window at the west end of the north aisle. Traces have also been found of a triple lancet in the west wall of the nave.

At this time also the western wall of the north transept was pierced for a pointed arch in order to gain access to the north aisle, the insertion of which neces-



Chesham Church 1870.

sitated the removal of a portion of the jamb of the Norman window before-mentioned.

Later in the same century the old Norman tower was demolished and another erected in the Early English style, but with more elaborate mouldings in the arches and pier-caps than are shown in the arcades. This was built as high as the present string-course under the bell-chamber, and is a portion of that now standing.

At that period towers of this form and height served as lanterns, and were open from the floor to the belfry, and in some instances to the roof; their position formed a line of demarcation between the church of the clergy, who officiated in the choir (or chancel), tower, and transepts, and that of the laity who occupied all the western portion.

On the nave side of the tower an oak screen was placed, with a rood-loft over; a fragment of which is still in existence. Access was obtained to this rood-loft from the south transept by turret stairs, which were blocked up for the safety of the superstructure about a century and half back.

We now pass to the period when the late or florid Decorated style prevailed, viz., the fourteenth century, more particularly during the reigns of Edward II., Edward III., and Richard II.

At this date the porch and chancel were erected on their present sites, the south aisle rebuilt in a modified form by widening the western portion, and a decorated window inserted in the east wall of each transept. Two angle buttresses were added to the north transept, and one to the south. On the south aisle buttresses are several sun-dials cut in the stone. The knapped flint facing of the south transept is very good.

This was a period when Gothic architecture flourished, and according to the opinion of eminent archæologists, had attained its greatest enrichment. The tracery of the windows in the chancel, and those above-mentioned in the transepts, is very good; and the inner doorway of the porch is a fine specimen of moulding, with ball-flower decoration.

The ceiling of the porch is groined, and has a priests' room or parvise over, which is approached from the interior by a turret stair. Local tradition states that it was in this room that "Harding the Martyr" was confined previous to his immolation at the stake.

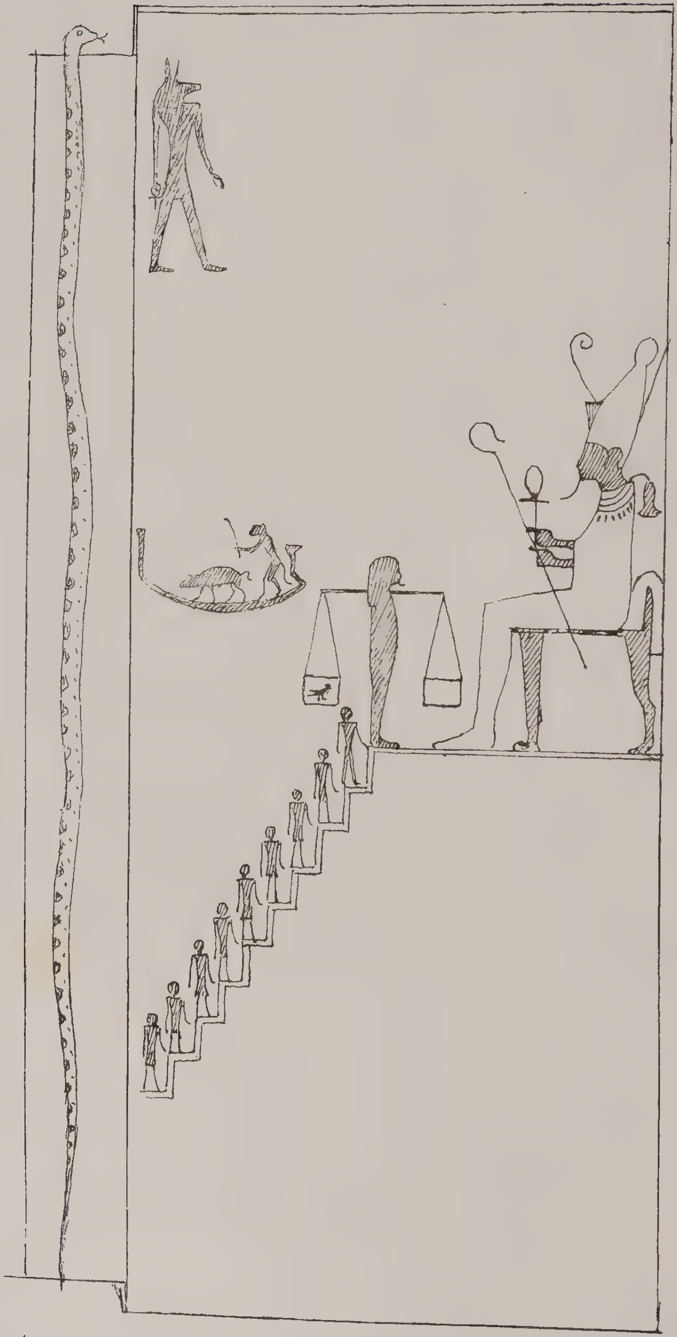
The stoup in the east wall of the porch remains. It is of great beauty, and has a carved crucifix in basso-relievo, now much mutilated, as a finial.

The piscina in the chancel is also a good specimen of Decorated architecture.

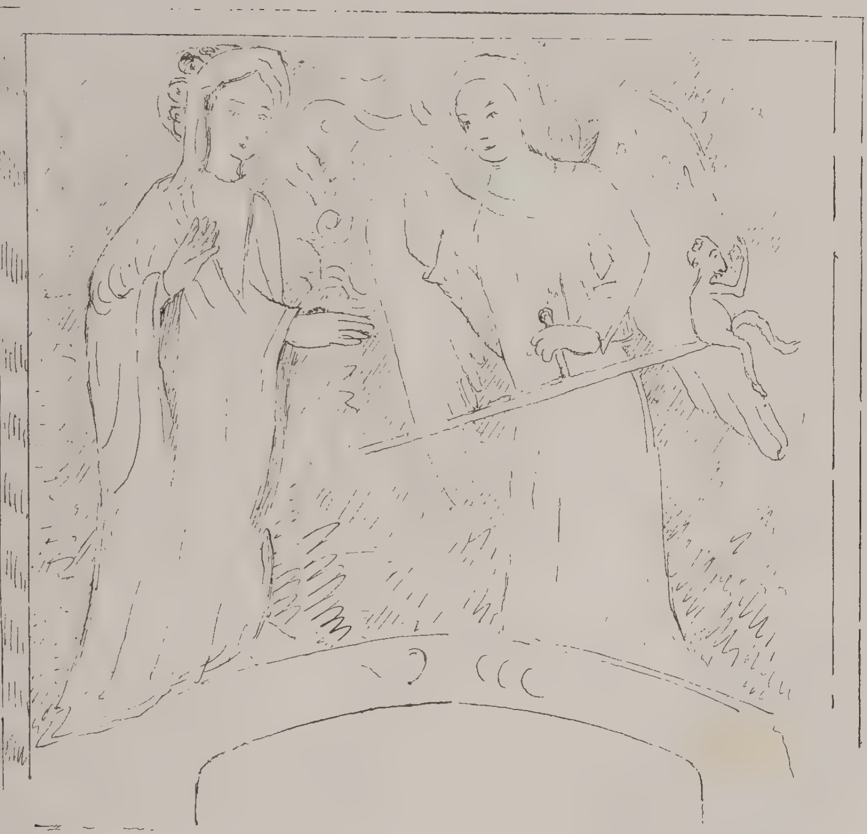
Beneath the west lights of each of the western windows in the north and south walls of the chancel, is a small square window with saddle-bars and double stanchions. These are considered to have been either offertory or lepers' windows. They were closed with a shutter, and when closed, had a bar inserted inside, dropping into iron catches as a fastening. The iron catches in one window remain, and when the north window was discovered, the decayed wooden shutter also was there, but it crumbled at the touch. There is, however, some evidence of glazing, for the glass groove remains in the stonework, and the rebate for the shutter is on the inside of this.

There are specimens of such windows in a somewhat different form at Itchingfield, Sussex; at Frinsted, Kent; and a more remarkable one at Doddington in the latter county. In some instances, when in this position, they were termed lychnoscopes, and were used for the purpose of observing the high altar from the outside of the church.

Having traced the various alterations and additions to the structure to the close of the Decorated period, we enter on that of the Perpendicular, when the building underwent material alteration. Up to this time, the fifteenth century, the various divisions of the church had pointed roofs, the stone housing courses of which remain on the four sides of the tower; these roofs were removed except that on the chancel; a clerestory was added to the nave with five perpendicular windows on each side, the tower was heightened twenty feet, an embattled parapet added, and the whole surmounted by an octagonal wooden, lead-covered spire, terminating with a vane and cross. The transept walls were also heightened two feet, low-pitched roofs placed on the nave and transepts, and single lean-to roofs on the aisles. It is also presumed that from some cause, probably from decay, the whole of the north wall of the north aisle had to be demolished,



Judgement scene on Sarcophagus in Sir John Soane's museum.



Fresco found over North door in Chesham Church.

B.

and it was rebuilt nearer the arcade, thereby narrowing the aisle to a dimension of eight feet. The original outer foundations of the Early English period have been discovered. Three two-light square-headed Perpendicular windows and a door were there inserted. The roofs of this period, on the transepts and a portion of the south aisle, remain, and are good specimens of ancient work. The nave was also roofed and moulded as the south transept, but it (the roof) was removed in the eighteenth century. The large five-light west window of the nave was now inserted in the place of the Early English triplet; also windows with elliptic heads in the north and south walls of transepts respectively. A curious feature also was the destruction of the mullions and tracery of the Decorated windows in the south aisle, and the insertion within the old jambs of perpendicular work: a cornice and parapet were added to the south and west fronts, with pointed gablets to the buttresses.

A fresco of this date was on the north wall, over the door, representing an angel with a beam or balance in his hand appearing to the Virgin. The balance was tilted, and on the upper or lighter end an imp was seated. The whole is supposed to have been a representation of the weighing of souls in the balance, and of the Virgin interceding for them.* This fresco is now destroyed by the removal of the wall, but a full-size copy was taken before its destruction. It may not be amiss to mention here that the wall was removed in order to give increased accommodation in the church, and that it has been re-erected with the old windows and doorway near to the first site mentioned as having been in the Early English period. This also makes the church more uniform in plan, besides restoring it to its ancient area.

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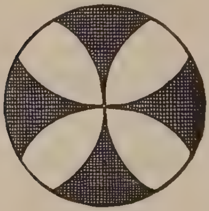
* The subject of this fresco, conveying Christian notions to the peasants at Chesham about A.D. 1400, is but a reproduction of the same idea of the Judgment scene which was inscribed 3000 years before, or B.C. 1600, on the sarcophagus of the Pharaoh, the father of the Pharaoh of the Exodus according to all the Egyptologists of France, Germany, and Italy. Champillion interpreted this picture as representing Osiris, as judge of the dead, having the souls of the people of all the nine grades of society weighed before him. One soul, as signified by the bird in the balance, is being weighed. Another soul has been put into the body of a pig, which is in a boat returning to this world by crossing the river which separates it from Hades the abode of spirits, to pass another life in its body by way of punishment. During his passage he is being chastised by a monkey, one of the punishers in the land of Amenti or Hades. There is no angel in this picture, but there is, standing near the gate of this Hall of Judgment, Anubis, the fox-headed god, who is the protector of the dead, to see that justice is done. The same subject occurs on one of the Syrian Marbles brought over by Mr. Fellowes, and on the walls of some of the churches on the Continent, as St. Laurent, Rome, XIII. siecle. These complete the chain of this curious and peculiar symbolism.—C. L. Ed.

Another fresco is on the north-west pier of the tower on a facet of a south-west aspect, diagonally towards the nave, and represents a robed ecclesiastic with a pastoral staff in hand in the act of benediction. Near this, on the respond of the north arcade, are also paintings of a hammer, pincers, and horse-shoe.



On the south wall is a colossal figure of S. Christopher; also on that wall, near to the turret entrance, is a circle twelve and a-half inches in diameter, inscribed with segments of circles, differentially coloured, forming a cross. Underneath this circle is a smaller cross, each arm of which is two and three-quarter inches in length.

The western doorway of the nave, which has much enrichment, was also inserted at this period, and the original traceried oak doors remain.

Some fragments of arms of the Earls of Bedford in stained glass are also in the clerestory windows.

The Reformation, with the exception of the mutilation of the piscina and stoup, seems to have left everything about the structure in its usual state. We may here, however, incidentally notice that about this time the whitewashing mania commenced; any figure painting on the walls, whether savouring or not of Roman Catholicism, was ruthlessly destroyed, or the walls were covered with limewash; and sentences inscribed thereon, generally in black letter, some being texts of Scripture, others the composition of the dominant parochial authority.

The next record which we have of any extensive repair or alteration is detailed in a quaint MS. left by "Richard Bowle, of Chesham Magna, Gent.," *temp.*

1606. At that time a "faire newe gallery" was erected in the south aisle, which, it needs scarcely be said, blocked up the tracery of the windows.

It is characteristic of the Stuart age that everything Gothic was regarded with something akin to abomination, and the introduction of Roman architecture in English churches, one of the best specimens of which is the cathedral church of St. Paul's, London, was considered to be evidence, if not of a reformed religion, at all events of a revolution in taste.

Richard Bowle minutely records the works done at this time (the Stuart age) which included reseating the church, and the decoration of the walls by the writing of texts of Scripture. Troublous times were coming, and the church restoration committee of that day experienced great difficulty in raising rateably the necessary funds. Many contributions were made in kind, such as timber, labour, etc.

In this interesting manuscript every transaction connected with the repairs is mentioned; the parties who contributed, and those who dissented; the legal proceedings resorted to in order to obtain compliance with the existing law. There is also the name and residence of every householder in the town and hamlets, with his or her status rateably, and distinguishing the natives from "forriners."

During the time of the Commonwealth and the Restoration nothing particular appears to have been done except the carving of rude initials and dates of the seventeenth century on many places in the building, which is easily accounted for by the laxity pervading and the fierce antagonism existing in all matters appertaining to the Episcopal Church.

In the year 1693, as recorded by a carved date on the wooden key of the barge board, the pointed chancel roof was removed, and a new one, much depressed and of a debased kind, put in its place, corresponding in form, but not in mouldings, with those on the nave and transepts; to this was appended the then usual lath and plaster ceiling, and, from the low pitch it necessitated the removal of the gable, and also the mullions and tracery of the three-light Decorated east window; to compensate for which a debased five-light window was inserted, corresponding with the roof. Portions of the tracery of the original window have been found, and were of a high order of Decorated work. It had also contained stained glass, there being a fragment in the tracery. The lower stones of the old jambs now remain.

From the additional weight added to the tower in the Perpendicular period, it was observed at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the piers on which it stood were being crushed, more particularly that on the south-west angle, which was the weakest point by reason of a turret stair to the ancient rood loft passing through it. This necessitated immediate attention, for the south arcade near the tower was being tilted over, and there was great danger of the whole structure falling southward. Therefore in 1721, the turret stairs were blocked up, and the western arch of the south transept filled with Portland stone (leaving only a small circular-headed doorway), to act as a buttress to resist the pressure and avert the impending danger. This was done not a day too soon, for, as it was, by the twist given to the structure, the tower became rent throughout its entire height in many places, and the whole of it materially disintegrated. The insertion of this masonry, ugly as it is, had the desired effect to a certain extent. This is now anything but a pleasing feature in the building, and it is hoped at some future day funds may be raised sufficient to rebuild the tower pier, thereby opening the eastern arch of the south aisle into the transept.

The clock bears this inscription—

"Tho. Vernon, Fecit
Londini, Anno
Domini 1728."

and is of the birdcage form, with two dials. Some framework near indicates that chimes were also once fitted there, but these have been removed. It is said that they remained but a short time in the tower in consequence of some financial difficulty.

In the years 1796-7 the parishioners seem to have again become awakened to the necessity of having some further repairs done to the structure, but at that time their energies appear to have been chiefly directed towards "*keeping the walls dry.*" Accordingly, the roof which was placed on the nave in the Perpendicular period was, instead of being repaired, unfortunately removed, and another in deal substituted, strong enough, but without the slightest pretension to ornament or moulding. Ceiling joists were morticed to the beams, the chamfered oak rafters of the former roof being used for that purpose, and a plastered ceiling put underneath. Part of the débris of the old roof was used to heighten the wall of the north aisle, where five semicircular windows were erected on a line above the existing ones, and galleries erected in the space gained by heightening the wall; bare utility being studied on the one hand, and exclusiveness on the other, for one of the galleries bore the inscription in painted letters, "This gallery was erected for maids and maid-servants." A large gallery also disfigured the western part of the nave, in which the organ was placed, and this had the effect of blocking up to a great extent the large and beautiful Perpendicular window.

The tower at this time unquestionably gave further evidence of decay, for iron bands were put round it which afterwards snapped, and the south-east angle was so much crushed, the dressings of clunch stone being so inferior for that purpose as to necessitate its being partially rebuilt above the line of the roofs under the string-course, and which was done with bricks and timber bound and tied with iron, and put together without any regard to lateral pressure or to the decaying nature of the material used for such a purpose.

After these questionable repairs and quasi-embellishments had been executed, the church, with its high pews, huge plain circular pulpit with sounding-board over, ponderous galleries, plastered ceilings, circular-headed windows, brick chimneys, an excrescence in brick called a hearse-house, and the external surface of the walls plastered and rough cast (the stone dressings being mutilated for the purpose of making the rough cast adhere) presented an appearance anything but architectural; but even these abominations had their negative use in more than one sense, for the parsimony of the day in reference to church repairs, the total abeyance of the true principles of Gothic art and the utilizing of the existing materials, no matter how, in the cheapest possible form, without taking trouble enough to effectually destroy their character, tended to the preservation of many mediæval relics which might otherwise have been totally destroyed.

There is a peal of six fine bells, recast in 1812 by Mears of Whitechapel, the tenor being keyed in F, and weighing about seventeen hundredweight. A smaller bell, or ting-tang, is also in the tower, and was hung in 1790. The curfew bell, a relic of the Norman Conquest, is rung from the first Sunday after New Michaelmas day until the Saturday evening immediately preceding March 10th.

The organ was erected in 1852, and is a fine instrument, built by Hill. Since it was first set up it has more than once been increased in power and volume, particularly in 1869, on the occasion of the reopening of the church after restoration. It is now placed in the north transept, the choristers occupying the tower.

Nearly the whole of the external dressings were of Tattenhoe stone, a very soft material, not calculated to bear with impunity exposure to the weather. Hence, although the internal stonework generally presented a fair appearance, except where mutilations had been made designedly, all the exterior was more or less decayed, and in some instances to the extent of rendering the fabric dangerous. To remedy this, Boxground stone, wherever required, has been inserted. Some of the old stone used externally is of the oolite formation, which weathers better, but none will stand the wear and tear of ages unless it is in every instance laid in its natural bed.

Many interesting fragments of old worked stone have been found and are preserved, which incontestibly prove the Norman character of the earlier building. These fragments are placed in the parvise, and among them are two gravestones of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In the work of restoration great care has been taken to preserve every ancient feature, and nothing has been removed which could possibly have been left, due regard being had to the stability and beauty of the building.

By the enlarged area of the north aisle, and by the seating of the south transept, much more accommodation is provided. The late nave roof is retained, ceiling excepted, and the whole cased in Perpendicular work; the beams and plates being moulded and embattled, and the spaces over the beams under the principal rafters filled with tracery; traceried spandrils resting on the stone corbels also support the beams. The south aisle and transept roofs have been restored, and a new roof placed on the chancel, raising it to its original pitch as in the fourteenth century. The north aisle has been rebuilt on an enlarged area as before mentioned, the whole church reseated and paved, the chancel also seated in wainscot and paved with Godwin's encaustic tiles.

The new font near the western doors is Early English work, beautifully executed, and the gift of William Lowndes, Esq., of the Bury. The main shaft is of Park Spring stone, the small shafts of Derbyshire fossil marble polished, the bowl of Mansfield Wodehouse stone, and bears the following inscription:—"ONE LORD, ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM, ONE GOD AND FATHER OF ALL.—X.P.C."

The base of the pulpit is of similar stone and polished marble, the upper part being of wainscot, paneled, with the monogram X.P.C. in a quartrefoil deeply moulded.

The lectern is an exquisite piece of workmanship by Farmer and Brindley, and is the gift of the Misses Sutthery.

The commandments are painted on the eastern wall of the nave over the tower arch, and the remaining surface of that wall is decorated in distemper; an original fragment furnishing a great portion of the design.

In the south transept are two tombs; one, to the memory of Mary, wife of Sir Francis Whichcote, who died in 1726, being a dark marble sarcophagus, surmounted by a large Sicilian marble block, pyramidal in outline, and capped with a funereal urn.

The other, erected to the memory of a son of the first Earl of Devonshire, is of Sienna and statuary marble, with dove columns, and capitals of the Composite order, and has the following inscription:—

"Memoriæ Sacrum,

Johannes Cavendishe nobillissimi Devoniæ comitis filius, balneorun eques, claritatem generis, nobilitate ingenii, præstantibus que animi dotibus superavit, longaque virtutum serie famam implevit quantam cunque capere tam teneri anni possunt puer optime domi educatus ad exemplum pius, Gallice et Latine supra ætatem, et ad miraculum doctus, erecto spiritu, ingenio absolutissimo mortales hic reliquias dum Christo jubente resurgant immortales, deposuit OBIIT XVIII JANVARII, ANNO SALVTIS MDCXVII ÆTATIS VIX. XI.

"Victa a quo prisci est, et sæcli fama novelli
Spesque, dolorque orbis conditur hoc tumulo,
Nil species, nil lingua illi, nil profuit ætas,
Nil genus, aut pietas, docta Minerva nihil;
Corpus habet tumulus, sed vivit fama, jacere
Tot dotes uno non potuere loco."

There is also a curious monument erected on the north side of the sacrarium in the chancel, to Richard Woodcock, former y a vicar of Chesham, who died in 1623. He is represented, in a niche formed in the wall, in the attitude of preaching, with a green cushion before him, and wearing a quilled ruff. On a black marble slab below is an inscription in Latin, given in Lipscomb's history, a translation of which will be found in the "RECORDS," vol. xi., page 65.

Another monument to the memory of Richard Bowle, whose manuscript of 1606 has been quoted, has an inscription which runs thus—

"Here lyeth part of Richard Bowle, who faithfully served divers great Lords as auditor on earth, but above all he prepared himself to give up his account to the Lord of Heaven, and now hath his quietus est, and rests from his torments and labors. He was a lover of God's ministers, a father of God's poore, a help to all God's people, and beleeves that his flesh, which with the sowle was long tormented, shall with the same sowle be æternally glorified. He died the 18th of December, 1626, and of his age 77."

There are also other monuments in the chancel, one of which, to the memory of Nicholas Skottowe, who died in 1798, was sculptured in Parian marble, by Bacon, in 1800, and has a kneeling female figure bending in a mourning attitude over a tomb.

In the chancel pavement are some slabs inscribed to the memory of members of the family of Lowndes, who were resident and possessed considerable property in the parish.

In the north transept is a stone bearing the following inscription—

"In a vault underneath this stone lies interred the body of GEORGE WADE, an Infant Son of Major Will^{m}. Wade, of Lieutenant-Gen^{t}. Wade's Regim^{t}. of Horse, by Mary his wife, daughter to William West, Esq^{r}., of this Parish, he was born May y^{e} 22^{d}, 1738, and buried the 23^{d} of July following.

DISTURB NOT Y^{E} DEAD."

The brass plate on the coffin states that this child was "born at Chesham."

The east window of chancel is filled with stained glass by Ward and Hughes, and is the gift of the Duke of Bedford. The north window of the sacrarium also has stained glass, given by the Misses Nash to the memory of their parents. That on the south side is presented by Mrs. Lowndes to the memory of her husband, the late William Lowndes, Esq. These two latter are by Clayton and Bell, and represent the four acts of mercy. The lancet in the north aisle, to the memory of Mrs. Morton and Miss Aylward, is by Burlison and Grylls.

In the south clerestory is a window in grisaille glass to the memory of Richard Clare and Mary his wife, erected by John Clare, of Ashley Green.

There were formerly some brasses in a slab in the south aisle, but they have disappeared. A rubbing of one has the following—

Of yo charite pray for the soules of Willm Eggerley John Eggerley Willm Eggerley & Elzabeth Eggerley the children of Robt Eggerley and Kateryn his Wyfe.

A few encaustic tiles of very ancient date are laid in the south transept, adjoining the "Cavendishe" tomb.

Having traced the various orders of English architecture, which are all represented in this church, and given a brief sketch of the decay of the fabric and its restoration, let us earnestly hope that the great and good work may remain to future generations a lasting monument, not only of the piety and zeal of our ancestors, but also of the faith of the present age, as shown by the exertions and sacrifices made to rescue such a noble structure from decay, and from the destruction of which it stood in such imminent danger.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN REMAINS AT TINGEWICK.

(Communicated by the Rev. J. C. ADDISON, Rector of Wotton.)

In a field on the left hand of the road leading from Tingewick to Brill, a little beyond the church, and about a foot below the surface of the soil, were discovered five parallel dwarf walls of brickwork, one foot high, seven inches and a-half broad, and four or five inches apart, and about twelve feet long (though only six or seven feet were exposed). These walls ran north and south, and the one nearest to the west was much thicker than any of the others. On each side of the outer walls were the remains of pavement formed of square red tiles eight inches across, and one and a quarter thick. The walls were, when discovered, covered with a floor of tiles, each of which was about thirteen inches by nine—red and blue in colour—and with shoulders or flanges on the lower sides, running parallel with the length. I saw some portions of these tiles, but none of them in a complete form.

These remains, no doubt, formed part of a Roman villa, and were the walls of a hypocaust of a private bath. The tiles laid on these walls formed the "suspensura," or suspended pavement. And the apartment was either the "sudatorium," or, as it seems to have been, a small bath, perhaps the "sudatio" and "balneum" in one.

At the end of one of the flues there were the remains of a curved semicircular tile, as though there were a turn at the end.

CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, LATHBURY.

BY THE REV. H. BULL.

(Read before the Annual Meeting, at Newport Pagnell.)

Having undertaken to give some account of the frescoes, or, to speak more correctly, paintings in distemper, in the Church of Lathbury, it will not be irrelevant, I think, to my purpose if I first offer a few remarks upon the general subject of paintings in holy places as connected with divine worship.

From the earliest period the practice of thus adorning these places seems to have obtained. "All art," it has been well said, "from the time of Egypt and Assyria, consisted mainly in either historical or symbolic representations of the spiritual ideas and relations of man; and the temples of man's worship were the centres of sculpture and colour." Our province at this time is, of course, Christian art; and, confining ourselves to this, I may remind you that the early ideas of this art are in a measure preserved to us, as in the instance of the Catacombs. It is familiar to all here that those caves abound with pictorial representations of divine subjects; the early Christians appearing to have felt that it was good to surround themselves with objects of this kind, even when there was so little to set them off as works of art. From the first I think we can trace the custom to the joint motive of the æsthetic and didactic principles. All Christian art must include both. The painter of religious subjects, while he obeys the instinct of art which he feels within him, if he is at all worthy of his vocation, must desire that his work shall not only please the sense, but also inform the heart of the spectator. That the conveyance of instruction through the eye was the main thing aimed at in paintings in churches, cannot, I think, be questioned. Such teaching would take a special form and colour from the tone and spirit of the age. This is manifest in the instance of the Catacombs already referred to. We find in the paintings there a calm and cheerful tone throughout, as has been observed by Mr. Lecky. Though in the midst of the dead, their place of worship a sort of large tomb itself, few ideas, or forms, of human suffering occur; not even the Crucifixion, nor any of the scenes of the Passion were represented, nor the day of Judgment, nor the sufferings of the damned—subjects so common and universal afterwards. The Good Shepherd, wreaths of flowers, the emblems of Christian hope, the miracles of mercy—such representations abound. As time went on, a sterner feeling took the place of the hopeful and bright side of Faith; and we have in the works of the Byzantine school, and especially in the paintings of our Lord, a melancholy, and even severe aspect, testifying to men's deeper sense of the corruption round them, and of the firm struggle with evil existing in the world. Accordingly we find in most churches of the mediæval period representations of the last Judgment, placed commonly over against the descriptions of Paradise, and other subjects expressive of the momentous interests and final destiny of the soul.

With this brief preface, I will proceed at once to describe plainly the paintings of my church. The paintings are of various date, ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The kind of work is that called "Tempera." The materials used were various—cheese, eggs, size, beer, milk, and other things, were employed as siccatives. It is thought that the Italian preparation with cheese was the most lasting.

Much of the painting in my church must have been of this character, judging by the freshness of the colours still; and from the fact that, in uncovering some of the frescoes, we often got off the layers of whitewash which overlay them, in large pieces, or flakes.

To come to the paintings themselves, and to begin with the chancel. The only remains of painting here consisted of a rather rude drawing of a vine branch on either side of the Communion table. At the bottom of that on the north side was a reference in figures to the sixth chap. of St. John, ver. 5; indicating that the passage in question was then interpreted as bearing upon the Sacrament. This, as belonging to the period of the Reformation, is worthy of notice. On the south wall of the chancel, over the priests' door, was a portion of a passage of the Epistle to the Corinthians, from the Wiclif Bible; also, as you will understand, a work of the later date.

There is no trace of old painting on the chancel. May it not be that the chancel not being so much in the view of the people—the rood-loft and the screen, of course, shutting it out from the nave in a great measure—did not contain ordinarily so much of this kind of decoration as the rest of the building? This conjecture, however, would, I believe, be disputed by many.

It is clear, from the examination made by us at different times, that the whole of the nave and aisles were painted in patterns of various kinds. As we might expect, the richest in design, and the most expressive in character, were to be found in the nave. One portion of them covered the space on either side, enclosing the two arcades of the north and south pillars. It consisted of a rich and flowing pattern, of graceful outline, and very harmonious colouring, running up to the roof. Subjects were introduced into it representing some of the sacraments of the church, and a burial. On the south wall we see a church, a portion of it in good preservation; outside of it are two persons in a kneeling posture, with bare legs, and uplifted hands, and very dolorous faces, suggesting the idea of penance. Issuing from the door of the church is an ecclesiastic, holding something in his hand. Farther on, in a line with the building, is a portion of a bed, with a tester and curtain, in which a sick woman reclines; the pillow large and well designed. The hand of a priest rests upon her shoulder; I say a priest, because some time ago, before the mortar had fallen out, there were traces of a red habit to be seen. It is probable that the drawing expresses a case of extreme unction. At the side of the bed there was a graceful figure of a female attendant, with a kind of turban on her head, kneeling.

In line with this, by natural sequence, we have one of the most perfect and interesting frescoes in the church. A plain dark ground represents a grave, on one side three persons are kneeling as engaged in prayer, at the head and foot of the grave is a person holding one of the ends of the winding-sheet, tied in at the neck, and terminating with the full and wide plaits which supplied a firm hold to those engaged in the operation of letting the corpse down into its shallow bed. A small red cross is painted over the breast of the dead person. The individuals here represented are of both sexes.

Another subject occurs rather lower than those which I have described. A youth is sitting upright on a kind of sofa; he has on a single habit, or shirt, one leg is extended along the seat horizontally; a female figure, in a red habit, stands before him with her hands joined together, as if in prayer; whether this may have been the use of chrism in baptism, or simply an illustration of praying by the sick, it is difficult to say. On the north side of the nave we have a beautiful example of the familiar and striking subject, the weighing of souls. A person of commanding aspect, with a high covering on his head, such as to remind one of the Papal tiara, is standing, the scales in his hands. In this case they are not *scales*, but *bags*, another form of the same idea. The beam which crosses his body, is depressed on one side. By him stands the Virgin Mary, with her crown of glory; in her left hand extended over her shoulder she holds a lily, her right apparently is placed on the beam, as if she were inclining the scale to mercy's side. The drawing is excellent, and nothing can be more graceful than the Virgin's attitude, the expression of the countenance, and the action, both imply reverent, but prevailing, intercession.

Over the belfry door, on the lofty and blank west wall, there was a tall and rather gaunt figure of a man walking with a staff through what seemed a wilderness, or plain covered with high grass. There was a mark of a wound in the side, with an arrow sticking in it; his hair was unkempt and loose, the face bore altogether a scared and stricken look. His left hand grasped the staff; in the right he held a kind of scroll, of which we were able to decypher a small portion as follows:—

....high
...sbroke
...rtal stroke

The most probable conjecture, I think, is that it was meant to portray Cain as a fugitive, with the curse of God resting upon him. "Hæret lateri lethalis arundo."

Returning now to the east end of the nave, according to the usual arrangement, there is a representation of heaven and hell: on the northern side the happiness of the blest is depictured; on the southern, the misery of the damned; each subject respectively including and occupying a portion of the two opposite walls of the nave. The northern wall contains in the middle space a burying-ground, or garden of the dead in Christ. It is planted with shrubs; black spaces among them represent tombs, out of which the departed are rising, in various postures. Above this, and reaching to the top of the wall, is a building with large windows of an ecclesiastical type, and buttresses; on the battlements which crown the building, several figures appear, not with wings, who may be supposed to be the guardians of it. No doubt it represents the heavenly Jerusalem.

The subject before us is carried at the angle round to the wall of the nave. Here also bodies of the saints are rising in tiers; some risen, and looking to the Virgin, who is standing in the midst; and, as may be inferred, about to discharge her intercessory office in another shape before the Judge.

The opposite delineation is not by any means so perfect as this; indeed, all on the lower part of the east wall is gone, and what remains on the south side is very imperfect. There is a figure of Michael above, holding his sword, pointed, we may suppose, at some objects which resemble skulls. Below him are three or four figures of the lost, naked; and, as it seems, with snakes coiled round them.

In the upper portion of the wall of the nave, immediately over the arch, there is a half length portrait of our Lord, wearing an oriental head-dress, and of sad aspect, with more of the Byzantine style about it than anything else in the church. He is seated on a rainbow, with the left arm held up, on which are several streaks of blood. It seems to signify the idea of the stigmata; or to be a kind of legendary rebuke to the slow of faith, such as Thomas. On the north side of the wall in line with our Lord, is a small figure of St. John seated in a boat, and holding the wafer; on the south side a well-drawn figure of St. Michael, holding a long staff with a round head, terminating in a sort of point. Scattered about the wall are patches of diaper, apparently to represent clouds.

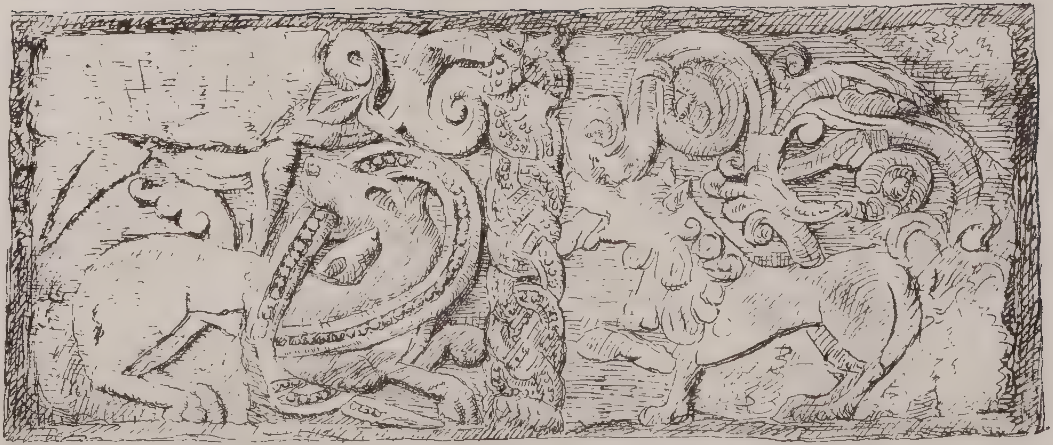
I have thus given a brief account of the most interesting of these frescoes. The question arises as to the fitness and utility of such decorative art in churches. As regards the æsthetic part of it, I think it is clear that these paintings served materially to form and cultivate taste both in the spectators and in the artists themselves, and, as a general rule, the true advantage of the imitative arts must be held to consist in the refining of the ideas and thoughts of the many, more even than in the forming a high critical standard in the *few*.

Next, which is a point of far greater moment, How are we to think of their effect upon the conscience and spiritual apprehension of the people? It is capable of demonstration, that in our present condition upon earth, our religious knowledge must always include the ideas of visible and material things. The highest intellect cannot escape from this law. Heaven is thus to our thoughts a definite spot; angels offer themselves to our conception as glorious beings with wings; perdition and the loss of God's favour comes in the shape of the flames of hell. Who will venture to assert, or is able to prove, that these ideas are not all realities? It follows that just and apposite representations, objective in character, of man's relations to the invisible, and of his final destiny, so far as they rest upon positive statements of Holy Writ, may be great helps to the keeping up a lively sense of these all-important verities in the multitude.

The paintings of the kind to which I allude, those in my own church for instance, set before the minds of the people what have been called the "four last things"—Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell, are represented, sometimes grotesquely (I would here remark that the aim of the grotesque in such paintings was intense reality), but always intelligibly. The need of mediation, that cardinal point in the system of our religion, was made very prominent. In the Romish Church this was not perhaps so much weakened in its influence upon the heart of the worshipper, as diverted from its proper object. When the people of this village, in the ages gone by, came to early matins, the picture I have alluded to with its solemn beauty met their eyes as they entered the church, and must have touched a chord in their hearts, as conveying the idea of justice tempered with mercy—*divine* mercy, according to the notions of their church.

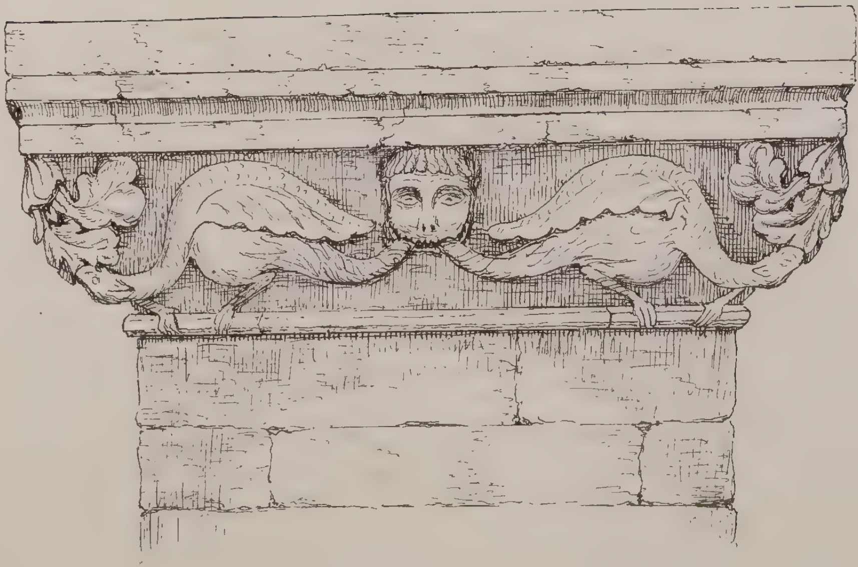
In choosing and arranging subjects for the decoration of churches *now*, our purer faith will of course avoid all that is either erroneous in doctrine, or merely legendary. But how wide a field is still open to the exercise of Christian art! In churches of large size grand paintings of the events of our Saviour's history may be executed; the walls of our temples may be as eloquent of the imperishable records of his life as the windows.

At the same time a limit is to be fixed. The ornamentation of churches may be carried so far as to distract, not help, devotion. It would be a serious evil were people to come to look upon churches as galleries of art. All that is done in God's house in this way should be subsidiary to the great idea of the worship of Himself; and therefore a few well-chosen subjects, naturally and reverently treated, and fitted thus to quicken faith, are to be preferred to grotesque conceits, or too elaborate ornamentation.



Stone slab found in Lathbury Church

.83.



Capital of a Pillar in Lathbury Church.

Proceedings of the Society.

The annual meeting was held on July 15th, 1869, and an excursion was made in the district north of Newport Pagnell. The beautiful parks of Tyringham, Gayhurst, and Chicheley were embraced in the circuit, and the picturesqueness of the scenery, which charmed the visitors on every hand, contributed in no slight degree to the pleasure and success of the meeting. The eminent antiquary, Mr. J. H. Parker, accompanied the expedition, and described the principal architectural features in the several buildings visited.

The members and their friends met at the church at Newport Pagnell. The north porch is the oldest part of the building, and dates from the reign of Edward III. Over it is the priest's room, to which there is not any trace of an external entrance. The chantry chapel at the East end of the South aisle is of the same date. The sedilia have no seats similar to those at Lathbury. The remainder of the church is a good specimen of the style of Henry VII. The foliated arches, both inside and outside the South porch, are uncommon ; and the modern wooden doors spoil the appearance of this part of the building. The rood loft extended as far as the first pillar of the nave, the square capital and the different form of the corbels distinctly marking it ; the remains of the staircase leading to it are visible.

The chancel has some fine windows of stained glass by Gibbs, the principal one representing our Saviour bearing the cross, and the patron saints of the church (St. Peter and St. Paul). The first window on the south side contains figures of St. Matthias and Thomas ; the second, St. Barnabas and St. Jude ; and the third, St. James (major) and St. John. The first window on the north side exhibits St. Philip and St. Bartholomew ; the second St. Matthew and St. Simon ; and the third, St. James (minor) and St. John. The beautiful stained glass window at the east end of the south aisle was placed there by the late vicar. It is in four compartments, and the subjects are—Moses lifting up the brazen serpent ; Christ healing the lame man at the pool of Bethesda ; Christ giving sight to the blind ; and the good Samaritan. Beneath the window is a brass plate with the following inscription :—" This window was erected to the memory of Robert Collison, surgeon, a liberal benefactor to this parish, who died April 3rd, 1860, aged 78 years, by his grateful friend, George Morley, vicar."

In the churchyard there is an epitaph by Cowper, on Thomas Abbott Hamilton, 1788.

Weever, in his "Funeral Monuments" tells a story that the body of a man was found in the north aisle of this church in 1619, with "all the concavous parts of his body and the hollowness of every bone, as well ribs as other," filled up with solid lead, the skull with the lead in it weighing 30 lbs. 6 oz. The churchyard is very beautiful both in its situation and adornments, sloping gradually down from the church to the river Lovatt.

From Newport Pagnell the visitors proceeded to Lathbury Church, which was undergoing a thorough restoration. The date of the lower portion of the tower, Mr. Parker fixed at about A.D. 1120. It was no doubt a low Norman tower ; the battlements were added at a later period. The south aisle is of the time of Henry II., and the rest of the church of Edward III. One of the pillars in the south side of the nave presents some very curious carving of an oriental—perhaps an Egyptian character, and Mr. Parker stated that many of the crusaders brought home with them from the East copies of designs which were afterwards used in the decoration of churches both in France and England. One of the accompanying illustrations represents one face of the capitol of the old Norman pillar in the south aisle. This evidently belongs to the same period as the still more curious flat carved slab, of which a photograph has been taken. It is likely that they were introduced from the East by the Crusaders. This slab, in one division of the work, represents an attack made by the serpent, or evil spirit, upon some animal. The serpent has the knobs or scales on his body, and the head of a dog, which was usual in the 13th century. This piece of sculpture which is in excellent preservation, was found carefully imbedded in one of the old square piers of the nave; and formed possibly an ornament of the original Norman doorway. The steps to the rood loft are in remarkably good preservation. The low window on the south side of the chancel was probably the "leper's window," the object being to separate lepers from the congregation, for there are rubrics which enjoin the administration of the Sacrament to those unfortunate persons on a cleft stick, so as to avoid contact. Mr. Parker declined to say that these windows were, as sometimes styled, "confessional windows," save that they might be thus used for lepers. With regard to the Confessional, he endorsed the remark of Mr. Pugin, that every odd hole and corner of which people do not exactly know the use is termed a Confessional. The old practice was that confessions should be made (not, as in modern Roman Catholic churches, in boxes screened from the general view), but in the open church, the priest sitting in the sedilia in the chancel, the penitent kneeling beside him, in the sight, though not in the hearing, of the congregation. Attention was also directed to some other features, such as the old 14th century glass in the south window of the chancel, and the sedilia and piscina, which have been carefully preserved. Some curious and valuable frescoes in the nave and other parts formed the subject of a paper which was read at the meeting.

From Lathbury the excursionists proceeded to Tyringham Church. The age of the Norman tower was a subject of some discussion. The lower portion, up to a "set off" dates from about A.D. 1120; the upper portion is of the time of Henry VII., and the body of the church is in the style of George III. On the south side of the chancel, outside the church, and exposed to the weather, is a brass to the memory of Mary, wife of Anthony Catesby and daughter of John Tyringham, 1507. The removal of this valuable brass to the interior of the church was strongly recommended. The party then walked across the park to Tyringham House, which was rebuilt by Wm. Praed, Esq, in 1792, and were most hospitably entertained at luncheon by Mr. and Mrs. Tyringham. Some of the objects of interest, in connection with this ancient family, in whose possession this estate has been for many generations, were exhibited. Among these was an autograph letter from Charles I., written from the Isle of Wight in 1648, in which, with characteristic coolness, he requests from the then head of the family, an immediate remittance of £500 :—

To our trusty and well-beloved ffriend, Will. Tirringham :—We must ascribe it to a more potent arme than that of flesh, that when we seeme to be in the lowest condition, we are not destitute of compassionate friends . of this we have beyond our hopes a present experience, euen from those we esteemed our professed enimies, by whose assistance we doubt not but our affaires will suddenly be so stated, that some designes for our present inlargement will be speedily put into execution. But to make these engines moue usefully, monie is our only want, a suppliment whereof we cannot promise to our selfe, but from those who have bin most faithfull to us, and in this ranke we must euer reckon you, whose forwardnes in our service we cannot forgett without purchasing to ourselfe the ignominious stampe of ingratitude : if our intelligence fayle us not, and we haue noe reason to suspect it, you are at present provided to furnish vs with five hundred pound, and it is a present and speedy supply must aduance our designes. We must therefore desire and conjure you, as you loue us and tender our safety, without delay to deliuer that sume to this bearer, and if possibly without noise, in gould, to whom you may giue creditt, though we must not giue you his name, for that he desires may be concealed, and so farre we haue reason to comply with him, that will undergoe such a hazard for vs. All that we shall giue you more in charge, is that you communicate this negotiation to noe one living; and this we must charge upon you as matter of trust and honor; we haue already too much cause to make vs sensible of our oune and our friends suffering for want of secrecy, and had it not bin to preuent the like, we could not haue thought it reasonable to moue you for so great a sume. There remaines only to lett you knowe, that this seruice will be so acceptable to us, that it will not be easy for vs to sett a proportionable valuation upon it, yet you may be confident of such returnes from vs, as may stand most with our honor, and the meritt of the engagement you hereby putt upon us, we shall euer prize at the highest rate. We rest confident of yur loue, and be assured of ours.

Aprill 10, 1648. CHARLES R.

The next place visited was Gayhurst, one of the seats of Lord Carington—a fine Elizabethan mansion, one side of which was rebuilt by Lord Keeper Wright in a style grievous to the antiquary. Modern improvements have obliterated all traces of "Digby's hole," where Sir Everard Digby, one of the conspirators of Guy Fawkes, contrived to conceal some of his accomplices, although he himself was taken in the hunting-field, near Dudley, soon after the discovery of the plot. Among other *notabilia* of Gayhurst we may notice a picture by Hogarth, also a portrait of William Pitt, who was a great friend of the first Lord Carington, and some old tapestry of the 17th century, formerly belonging to Lord Willoughby d'Eresby. Here was born the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, who espoused with so much warmth the cause of the unfortunate Charles I., and who was afterwards imprisoned and exiled by the Parliament of the Commonwealth. He was, besides being a gallant soldier, a very learned man, and presented to the Bodleian library, a large and valuable collection of manuscripts. Cowper says of Gayhurst, "The situation is happy, the gardens elegantly disposed, the hothouse in the most flourishing state, and the orange trees the most captivating creatures of the kind I ever saw." The church, which is dedicated to St. Peter, is built in the Grecian style, and was finished in 1728, at the expense of George Wrighte, Esq., Keeper of the Great Seal, who purchased the estate in 1704, of the representatives of the Digby family.

From Gayhurst the party proceeded to Weston Underwood and inspected the church, which is all of one period—namely, Richard II. The style is Early Perpendicular, and is in excellent preservation. The glass in the chancel window is no doubt the original glass, and the sedilia and piscina are likewise old. A helmet and a coat, said to have been worn by one of the crusaders, are preserved in the church. Some old documents and a terrier are preserved in the parish chest. From the churchyard may be seen the house where Thomas Scott, the commentator lived. The pear tree is still standing from which Scott used regularly to send a basket of pears to his landlord, Mr. Higgins, receiving in return a receipt for his rent.

The most interesting relic was the house where Cowper lived and wrote his translation of Homer, after his residence at Olney. Mr. Swannell, the present occupier, courteously welcomed the visitors, and conducted them to Cowper's bedroom, where, on the panel of the window shutter may still be read a couplet in the poet's beautifully regular hand, expressing his regret at leaving these familiar scenes, on the occasion of his removal into Norfolk—

"Farewell, dear scenes, for ever closed to me,
Oh! for what sorrows must I now exchange thee."
June 22.
—— 28, 1795.

It would seem that the departure had been fixed for the 22nd, but was delayed until the 28th, and the second date was afterwards added. The sitting-room used by Cowper remains in very much the same state as when he used it. The house is still, as in Cowper's time, the property of the Throgmorten family. The "Wilderness," in which Cowper found the "boundless contiguity of shade" which he celebrates, and where some inscriptions from his pen are still to be found, was also visited.

Passing on to Olney, which is still more intimately associated with the memory of Cowper, the visitors paused in front of the large house in the Market-square where he lived, and where he and Mrs. Unwin arrived Oct. 14, 1767. They then paid a visit to Mrs. Welton, who has collected many objects of interest, and who courteously exhibited her treasures to the Society. Among these were a striking profile likeness of the poet in his later yaers, and one of Lady Austen, his devoted friend, at the age of about 17. Some other relics, after they had been examined with interest, Mrs. Welton, with a generosity which showed how much she appreciated the value of the gift, presented to the Society. One of these was the poet's poker*—a short iron rod, about the diameter of a child's finger, one end being flattened out and bent into the form of a sabre, several holes being made in it of which no one seemed able to divine the object. Another was a piece of "Cowper's Oak," still growing in Yardley Chase, the theme of one of his smaller poems. A button worn by Cowper was also given to the Society. These presents were duly acknowledged by the Rev. C. Lowndes. The visitors next proceeded to view the summer-house where, according to tradition, "John Gilpin" was written—the chief ornament of which now consists in some hundreds of autographs scribbled on the walls. This summer-house lies midway between Cowper's house and the rectory, where his friend John Newton resided, and into the garden wall of which an opening (still traceable) was made that he might pass more readily without going into the street.

A visit was next paid to Olney Church, a building in the Decorated style of Edward III., possessing few features of interest. The sedilia are of plaster, having been, probably, more or less faithfully restored from the early stone ones. The low window in the chancel was noticed as probably having served as the "Leper's window." The church is now being restored, Lord Dartmouth having contributed the munificent sum of £1200 towards the repairs of the chancel.

Emberton Church was next visited. The account of the restoration of this church will be printed in the "Records" of the Society.

At Chicheley Church a very brief halt was made, the hour fixed for the annual meeting having arrived. This church presents the unusual feature of a central tower without transepts. The tower is of the time of Henry VII., the aisles being of earlier date—probably of the time of Henry III. The chancel is of the 18th century.

At Chicheley Hall the party was courteously received by the Rev. Greville Chester (in the absence of his brother, Major Chester), who exhibited the most remarkable of the many treasures in the archives of this old mansion. Among these may be noticed a MS., entitled "The King's answer to the Divines' prayer concerning religion"—probably an original composition of Charles I.; the seals of Cardinal Wolsey and Archbishop Laud, and an authograph of Richard Cromwell when Protector.† Also a document professing to emanate from "the keepers of the liberty of England by authority of Parliament"—a grant to the same Henry Chester, made during the period just previous to the dethronement of Charles I.; the seal of Philip and Mary; a license to preach, dated 1670, by the Bishop of Lincoln; a Hebrew MS. of the Book of Esther; and an autograph letter from George IV. to the uncle of the present Major Chester. In the library are several books of the highest interest to the curious student, among which is an early edition of Ben Jonson, and one of the earliest, if not the very earliest, editions of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity"—which, though it contains only the five books at first published, has, curiously enough, the title page of the later edition, containing the eight books. Another curious book, "The history of the life and death of Mary Stuart," has on the parchment cover an imitation of the well-known signature of Queen Elizabeth. There is a curious collection of old tracts, including the "Natural History of the Hanover Rat," and many other works of which time would not permit even a hasty inspection. A splendid collection of photographs from Rome, Venice, and the East was displayed in the Hall, and were in themselves fully worth a visit.

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* In the history of "Olney and the Lace-makers," page 18, the author says, "Two or three doors off I used to visit an old lady who recollected sitting on Cowper's knee, and was very proud of stirring her fire with the poet's poker." This old lady was a Mrs. Mason, who gave the poker to Mrs. Welton.

† The mansion of Chicheley having been outraged by the rebels, and made more or less uninhabitable, Henry Chester obtained leave of Richard Cromwell to reside in Beds (at his mansion of Tilsworth, in the church of which parish he is buried), while Sheriff of Bucks.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting was held in the drawing-room of the mansion, the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., in the chair. Time being limited, the report of the committee, which was as follows, was "taken as read":—

"Your Committee have much pleasure in tendering for your adoption the report of the proceedings and position of the Society.

"They desire to avail themselves of this opportunity to acknowledge the very hearty welcome given to the Society at its annual meeting at Eton, by the Rev. C. O. Goodford, D.D., Provost of Eton. The Society was indebted on this occasion to the Rev. Wharton B. Marriott, for one of the most interesting and instructive papers ever read before the Society. This paper has been printed in the "Records of Buckinghamshire," and illustrated with drawings from wood blocks lent by the Rev. W. B. Marriott.

"During the past year the Society has again been strengthened by the accession of several new members, but on the other hand it has to regret the loss by death of one of its hon. secretaries. Your Committee beg to recommend the Rev. Bryant Burgess, rector of Latimer, to the vacant office."

The officers of the Society were re-elected *en masse*, and the following new members were admitted:—Rev. H. Draper, Edgcombe; A. Robarts, Esq., Lillingstone Dayrell; H. Trower, Esq., Wolverton Park; Rev. M. Smith, Newport Pagnell; Rev. H. W. Lower, Wolverton End; Rev. J. Greaves, Cosgrove; Rev. J. Benthall, Willen; Rev. A. Smith, Wendover; Rev. D. Greig, Addington; Mr. H. Coles, Aylesbury; Mr. J. G. Rowe, Aylesbury; Mr. T. W. Robinson, Aylesbury; Mr. G. B. Wilkinson, Manor Farm, Wolverton; Rev. H. Blagden, Hughenden.

The Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., then read a paper on "William Cowper," the poet.

The Rev. H. BULL, in moving a vote of thanks to the Archdeacon for his paper, said he hoped the time would never come when the merits of Cowper would cease to be appreciated, and that the county would never cease to be regarded as classic ground, by the memory of that genuine and delightful poet. The influence of Cowper's poetry was becoming more and more valuable at the present time, as the work of a man of fine temper and deep piety, and at the same time of thorough honesty. In these days of religious excitement, and wear and tear of body and mind, one could not find a more soothing elixir than the poetry of Cowper, and as an admirer of his poetry he felt deeply indebted to the Archdeacon for doing him such ample justice.

The Rev. **GREVILLE CHESTER** said he might be allowed to mention that Cowper had often been a guest in that house, and that he wrote the epitaph on his grandfather, which is included in every complete edition of his works.

Mr. **PARKER**, in seconding the vote of thanks, wished to say a word about architectural meetings generally. He was confident that it was a great advantage to a county to have such a society. These semi-social and semi-scientific meetings were of great service. They originated some 25 years ago at Oxford, and now there was one in almost every county. This Society had the great advantage of profiting by the experience of others, and now the work would be thoroughly well done. He hoped the Archdeacon would some day be able to tell him, with regard to the Archdeaconry, as the Bishop of Bath and Wells told him lately respecting his diocese, that there was not a church in it which has not been restored. Things were moving in this direction, many beautiful churches had been restored, and others were in progress.

Archdeacon Bickersteth, in acknowledging the compliment, said it was a pleasure to him to refresh his memory with recollections of Cowper, whom he had admired from his earliest days.

The Rev. H. Bull read a paper on the frescoes in Lathbury Church.

Mr. **PARKER**, in moving the thanks of the Society to Mr. Bull, said it was perfectly clear to him from personal observation that, from the earliest period in the history of the Church, every place of assembly for Christian worship was decorated with colour, as far as the means were available. Up to the fourth century, when what was called the "peace of the Church" was established by Constantine, the early Christians could only meet in the halls of their own houses—whence the name Basilica. But from the earliest time when they were permitted to have churches, they were decorated with pictures and mosaics as far as possible. They were all aware that the early paintings were Scripture subjects, and it was not until the 8th or 9th century that we have the legends of the Saints. With regard to the material used, he did not know what might be the case in this particular instance, but generally the ochres were employed, which, being the natural colour of the earth, never changed. These were fixed with sizes of various kinds. Properly, fresco is work done while the mortar is wet, and work done subsequently is termed distemper. In the Catacombs are drawings certainly from the 4th and 5th century downwards. In the churches at Rome there is a series of mosaics which compare with those to be found in the Catacombs. In the time of Charlemagne there was a great revival—many mosaics were put in the churches, and many new frescoes were painted in the Catacombs, but whether some of these were in most instances repetitions of old ones it is difficult to say. Many of them were clearly additions, not corresponding at all with the early work. The principle of decorating the House of God was one adopted by the Catholic Church from the very earliest antiquity.

The Rev. C. G. **HULTON** seconded the vote of thanks to Mr. Bull, which was carried unanimously.

There were two other papers announced, one by the Rev. C. G. Hulton, on "Emberton Church," and one by the Rev. J. Bentall on "Willen Church;" but as the time for leaving approached, the meeting was brought to a close by the **ARCHDEACON**, who tendered the thanks of the members to Major Chester and to the Rev. Greville Chester for the hospitable reception they had experienced.

The company were afterwards entertained at dinner at Chicheley Hall, and thus one of the pleasantest excursions ever enjoyed by the members of the Society was brought to a close.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting and Excursion took place July 28th, 1870. The members and their friends met at Great Marlow at half-past ten a.m., and embarked in a saloon-boat, which was moored on the River Thames, immediately opposite the refectory of the old monastery attached to Bisham Abbey. It is said that in this refectory the French prisoners were kept during the war. Some of the party visited the church of All Saints, which is a modern Gothic building, in the vestibule of which is a picture of the "Spotted Boy,'' an extraordinary *lusus naturæ.* The boat was drawn by two horses, and a start was made up the river. The first point of debarkation was Bisham Abbey, where G. H. Vansittart, Esq., met the members and conducted them over the principal apartments, and explained the various features of interest connected with them. The Abbey is described in "Murray's Handbook of Berks, Bucks, and Oxfordshire," as the most interesting house in Berks, and full of historical associations, having been the burial-place of more historical personages than any other country place in England. It has undergone many alterations, but retains portions of early work. The hall was formerly the site of a preceptory of Knights Templars, and afterwards the church of a priory of Benedictine monks of the order of St. Augustine, founded by Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, 1338. It has been lately restored by its present owner. The ceiling was removed, disclosing an Early English wagon roof of oak, which has been thoroughly restored. At the east end of the hall is a fine Early English window, now built up, and painted in imitation of coloured glass. When the plaster was taken down, which for a long time had blocked up the window, the stone mullions were found in tolerable order. There was also discovered on the upper part of the window at the north side the fresco of a half figure of St. Peter with the Holy Key; the colours were in such a state of preservation that it was easily restored. In a recess, on the north side of the hall, is a fresco by Roddam Spencer Stanhope, representing the death of Thomas Montague, fourth Earl of Salisbury, and his esquire, Sir Thomas Gargrave, at the siege of Orleans, in 1428. His body was brought to England and interred at Bisham. "The Earl, on the third day after his arrival before Orleans, entered the Tower" (on the bridge, which had been previously taken from the enemy) "and ascended to the second story, where, from a window that overlooked the town, he was observing what was passing within. While thus occupied, a stone from a veuglaire struck the window and carried away part of his face, and killed a gentleman behind him.* His tomb, and that of the Earl of Warwick, the king-maker, who was also buried here, were destroyed by Sir Thomas Hobby, about 200 years ago, when he erected the oak screen at the entrance. Here also rest the remains of William, Earl of Salisbury, who fought at Poictiers; of his son John, Earl of Salisbury, beheaded and attainted 1400, whose son was the Earl killed at the siege of Orleans; of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, beheaded at York in 1460, for his attachment to the Lancastrian cause; of two sons, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, and John, Marquis of Montague, who both fell in the battle of Barnet, 1471, and whose bodies were brought here after having been exposed three days to all comers in St. Paul's Cathedral. Here too is interred Edward, Earl of Warwick, the last of the male line of the Plantagenets, who was beheaded in 1499, for attempting to escape with Perkin from the Tower, where the Earl had been imprisoned by Henry VII., who was jealous of his pretensions as son of the Duke of Clarence. On the south side of the hall is a magnificent marble mantelpiece, with richly carved oak panelling, which was originally given by James I. to the then Earl of Plymouth, and was brought here from the Earl's country seat in Worcester in the year 1843. The panelled room adjoining the hall is a fine specimen of domestic architecture, and contains a large number of notable portraits, including Van Tromp by Sir Peter Lely; General Monk, first Duke of Albemarle, a famous portrait by Peter Bursler, painted about the time of the Commonwealth; John Claypole, by Peter Bursler, married to Elizabeth, second daughter of the Protector; Prince Henry, eldest son of James I., by Zuchero; Henrietta Maria, his queen, by Vandyke; Princess Caroline, mother of George III.; Lord Edwin de la Sandys, Lord Chief Justice, temp. 1684. There is also a singular painting of Lady Hobby, whose husband died in 1566 in France, when ambassador there. She is represented with a very white face and hands, dressed in the coif, weeds, and wimple, then allowed to a baronet's lady. In this dress she is still supposed to haunt a bed-room, where she appears with a self-supported basin moving before her, in which she is perpetually trying to wash her hands "with invisible soap in imperceptible water;" but it is remarkable that the apparition is always in the negative, the black part white, the white part black. The legend was that she beat her son William to death because he could not write without making blots. It is remarkable, as illustrating the legend, that about thirty years ago, in altering a window-shutter in the dining-room, a number of children's copybooks of the time of Queen Elizabeth were discovered pushed between the joists of the floor, one of the copybooks answering exactly to the story, as if the child could not write a single line without a blot.

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* "Chronicles of Engerrand de Monstretet." This account is confirmed by others—Fabyn, Rapin, etc., etc.

Behind the tapestry in one of the bed-rooms (representing the history of Tobit) a secret room was discovered with a fireplace, the chimney of which is connected with that of the hall for the sake of concealing the smoke. Tradition tells that when Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, was going to the Crusades, he came with all his train for last prayers at the Abbey he had founded, and his daughter came from Medmenham with the abbess to meet him. A squire, who had been in love with her before, seized the opportunity for elopement, and they escaped in a boat, but were taken at Marlow. She was sent back to her convent, and her lover was shut up in the tower, whence he tried to escape by means of a rope which he had made from his clothes torn into shreds. The rope broke and he was dreadfully injured, and was taken into the Abbey, where he afterwards became a monk.

Lady Hobby was one of the three learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, preceptor to Edward VI., who were said to be equally distinguished for their piety, virtue, and good fortune, her two sisters being respectively married to Lord Bacon and Lord Burleigh. On the death of her husband she had the body brought to Bisham, together with that of his brother, Sir Philip Hobby, who died about the same time when papal legate at Rome. She erected a magnificent monument to their memory in Bisham church, on which she inscribed three epitaphs in Greek, Latin, and English, one of them ending in the lines—

"Give me, O God, a husband like unto Thomas,
Or else restore me to my husband Thomas."

Which prayer was fulfilled in her marriage at the end of a year with Lord John Russell.

The Princess Elizabeth resided two or three years at the Abbey, and one of the apartments is still called her Council Chamber. The care of the Princess had been entrusted to Lady Bacon and Lady Burleigh, but they not liking the office, transferred their trust to their brother-in-law, Sir Thomas

Hobby, who was then possessor of Bisham. In the Council Chamber, which still retains its name, is a bay-window which is said to have been thrown out for her, and a dais was erected sixteen inches above the floor, which was reduced when Mr. Vansittart took possession of the abbey. The windows in the apartment contain some ancient shields of painted glass, two of which were originally in the church at Bisham; but it is uncertain when they were removed. Among them are those of Montague, who married Catherine, daughter of Lord Grandison, created Earl of Salisbury, and who died in 1343: Sir Richard Pole, and the Lady Plantagenet, his wife; the Countess of Salisbury, beheaded by Henry VIII.; and Cecil, Earl of Exeter, who married one of the daughters of Neville, Lord Latimer. These were the only pieces of stained glass at Bisham which seem to have escaped the fury of the Puritans, probably, as suggested by Mr. Vansittart, because they contain no ecclesiastical symbol. The windows of Bisham Abbey must have been very rich in stained glass, for when the floor of the dining-room was relaid, about ten years ago, an immense quantity of that material was found smashed into atoms beneath the flooring, none of the pieces being, as remarked by Mr. Vansittart, so large as a sixpence.

Among the pictures in the room is a very remarkable portrait of James I. by Zuchero, said to be the best extant of that Sovereign. There are also two prints of George III. and Queen Charlotte, which were presented by the latter to the eldest daughter of the late Mr. G. Vansittart.

In the grounds are traces of portions of the foundation of the ancient Abbey, and the original moat round the garden still remains.

Leaving the Abbey the party proceeded to the Church, where they were received by the vicar of Bisham, the Rev. T. E. Powell. The church at one time consisted of Norman nave and tower with north and south door. The church has undergone many alterations, and in 1856 it was restored in the Early Decorated style. It contains several interesting brasses, and some splendid monuments of the Hobby family. The Hobby window at the east end of the aisle is a very fine specimen of the art of enamelling on glass, now completely lost, and contains a shield of thirty-eight quarterings, said to be the richest in England.

On leaving the grounds Archdeacon Bickersteth tendered the thanks of the company to Mr. Vansittart and the Vicar of Bisham, for the information they had so courteously given them.

Proceeding up the river, the party arrived at Hurley, and visited the Church and Lady Place. The church was founded by Geoffrey de Mandeville, a famous soldier at the battle of Hastings, in the eleventh century. About 1087 it was annexed to Westminster Abbey, after which it became the burial-place of Edith, sister of Edward the Confessor. There are traces of Norman work in the doorways and windows. When the church was restored the original windows on the north side, which were formerly closed, were re-opened, and those on the south side restored; one decorated window on the south side being allowed to remain. In the vestry room, which has been added to the east end, separated from the chancel by only a modern screen of Norman character, are some ancient monuments of the Lovelace family. The remains of Lady Place, once the residence of John, Lord Lovelace, so celebrated in the Revolution of 1668, was formerly a Benedictine Priory of St. Mary, founded in the reign of William I. This house was occupied till the dissolution, as a cell to the Abbey of Westminster. Macaulay, in his history, says: "This mansion, built by his ancestors out of the spoils of Spanish galleons from the Indies, rose on the ruins of a house of our Lady in this beautiful valley through which the Thames, not yet defiled by the precincts of a great capital, rolls under woods of beach, and round the gentle hills of Berks. Beneath the stately saloon adorned by Italian pencils, was a subterranean vault in which human bones had sometimes been found. In this dark chamber some zealous and daring opponents of the Government held many midnight conferences during that anxious time when England was impatiently expecting the Protestant wind." This vaulted chamber was visited, and the site of the celebrated "Meal Tub Plot" pointed out, as well as the exact position where the meal tub stood, in which the pretended conspirator Dangerfield alleged he found the papers which implicated the Roman Catholics, but which are supposed to have been placed there by himself. The house itself, which was, to use the words of Macaulay, "a perplexing labyrinth of panelled rooms, some of the paintings on which were attributed to Salvator Rosa, was entirely destroyed in 1837; and the vaults, covered by a mound of green turf, are now all that remains of a building where the confederate Lords held their meetings for the purpose of promoting the revolution of 1688. An inscription records the foundation of the place, at the time of the Norman Conquest, and the part it took in the revolution of 1688. The house was visited by the Prince of Orange after he came to the throne. The last inhabitant of Lady Place was the brother of Admiral Kempenfelt, and here he and the Admiral are said to have planted two thorn trees, in which the former took great pride. One day, in coming home, he found that the tree planted by the Admiral had withered away, and said, "I feel sure that this is an omen that my brother is dead;" and upon that evening came the news of the loss of the Royal George. The magnificent inlaid staircase of Lady Place has been removed to some house in the north of England. The painted panels, when the house was destroyed, were sold in one lot for £1000. The foundations of the original monastery are still visible, forming a vault where some years ago were discovered three bodies in their Benedictine habits; and traces of the walls and windows are to be found in the different farm buildings. The quadrangle, where paced the old monks seven or eight centuries since, is now a garden.

The party having once more embarked, passed by the beautiful seat of Sir W. Clayton, Bart., and proceeded to the small remains of Medmenham Abbey, a few miles further up the river on the Buckinghamshire side, where they arrived about two o'clock. An account of Medmenham Abbey will appear in the next number of the RECORDS.

The members then walked up the hill to inspect the Danish entrenchment, close to the residence of C. R. S. Scott Murray, Esq., formerly M.P. for Bucks. The house is about a mile distant, and is approached by a steep ascent through luxuriant woodlands. Attached to the house is a Roman Catholic Chapel, commenced by Pugin and completed by his son. It contains a superbly executed altar-piece representing scenes in the history of St. Carlo Borromeo, a beautiful crucifix by Seitz, and some quaint old pictures of the Virgin.

The encampment which gives Danesfield its name is described by Langley as "a strong and perfect Danish encampment, in the form of a rude horseshoe, fortified in its circular part by a double vallum." Lipscomb, however, discredits this account, and says that from the warlike instruments discovered here there is little doubt that the fortification is the site and remains of the ancient mansion of the Bolebecs.

Descending the hill by winding walks among woods of holly, yew, and box, which clothe the steep escarpment towards the river, the company soon found themselves at the side of the barge which had been brought down the river to await them; and having embarked proceeded on their homeward voyage.

The annual meeting of the Society was now held, and Mr. Du Prè, on the motion of Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., was requested to take the chair.

The first business was the election of the officers, who were all unanimously reappointed.

The following new members, whose names had been submitted and approved by the committee, were next elected: Rev. F. B. Ashley, Wooburn; Mr. J. E. McConnell, Woodlands; Rev. W. H. Ridley, Hambleden, Henley; Rev. W. J. Blew, 16, Warwick Street, Pall Mall; Rev. F. B. Harvey, Cheddington; Mr. E. Swinfern Harris, Stony Stratford; Mr. L. Poulton, Aylesbury; Rev. J. A. Cree, Great Marlow; Mr. T. Wootton, Aylesbury; Mr. W. Brown, Tring; Rev. T. B. James, North Marston; Mr. J. P. Ellames, Manor House, Little Marlow; Rev. T. Troughton, Preston; Rev. J. Greaves, Great Missenden; Rev. C. W. Heaton, Aston Clinton; Mr. C. Carter, Great Marlow; Mr. E. Wood, Aylesbury; Mrs. Bartlett, Peverel Court, Aylesbury; Sir W. Brown, and Lady Brown, Putney; Mrs. Rumsey, Princes Risborough.

The Chairman then called on Archdeacon Bickersteth to deliver an address on the River Thames.

The Ven. Archdeacon BICKERSTETH then made the following remarks upon the Thames:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must apologize for not being in a position at this moment to do justice to so interesting a subject as that of the origin and ancient characteristics of this grand old River Thames. I had hoped to prepare a paper not altogether unworthy of being read to you, and placed upon our Records; but, not having had time for this, I yesterday, amidst the press of other business, put together a few notes, which I hope may be of some little interest, if you will kindly accept them in this brief and rudimental form. At the outset, I fear I am likely to have to encounter some opposition, when I venture, as being associated with Buckinghamshire, to assign the source of the Thames to that good county. I am well aware that this honour is claimed for other counties, especially Gloucestershire; and I do not deny that there is something to be said on that side of the question, inasmuch as the Gloucestershire stream has the longest course, and is navigable from Lechlade. Moreover, there is, not far from Cricklade in Wiltshire, on the borders of Gloucestershire, a considerable spring, which from time immemorial has borne the name of the "Thames head." But, unfortunately for that view, the river which flows from that source ceases to be called the Thames long before it reaches Buckinghamshire, and is merged in the Isis. In favour of the Buckinghamshire origin we have at least the argument of continuity. The name of the stream flows on continuously with the stream itself, without any inconvenient break, from the point where certain little rivulets, well known to many of us, which surround the town of Aylesbury, meet together within a few miles of Lower Winchendon. There the river assumes the name of the Thame; and, flowing westwards until it reaches Dorchester, it there mingles its waters with the Isis, and thenceforward it becomes the Thame Isis, Tamesis, or Thames. There is one unbroken connection of name between the Thame and the Thames; and, therefore, I presume, in behalf of the county with which I am associated, and in spite of much that can be said in favour of its Gloucestershire origin, to assign to the Thames its source in the highest ground of the Thame watershed, that is, in the parish of Stewkley, in Bucks. If you ask me why the Gloucestershire river bears the name of Thames in that district, and loses it lower down, my answer is this—our river names are amongst the oldest we have, and these ancient names are for the most part names expressive either of water, or of some peculiarity in the streams formed by water. Now, the word Thame—Tame or Tam—is a Celtic word, which signifies *broad* or *spreading*; and I believe that this fact very much explains the reason why this name has been assigned to the river on which we are now floating, at different points in its course. The Isis, on the other hand, is the Latin form of another Celtic word, which is spelt *uisge* and pronounced *whisk*, and signifies "water." It appears in many different forms in the names of rivers, both in this and other countries. The Ouse, Isis, Oise, Esk, Axe, Usk, and many others, are all forms of this very ancient Celtic word, *uisge*, a *water*. You may trace the word in *whiskey*, *uisgeboy*, or *usquebaugh*, which means "yellow water." I said that Thame or Tam means *broad* or *spreading;* and any one who has seen the valley of Lower Winchendon, when the watershed of the Thame has been swollen by a flood, will perceive at once the propriety of the word Tam or Thame, as applied to that river at such a time. When it receives the Isis near Dorchester, it becomes the Tam Isis, Broad Isis, Tamesis, or Thames, and so retains that name from the time when it receives it in the Vale of Aylesbury, until it loses it at the Nore. I may mention, that if you notice the low alluvial flats through which we are now passing, and which prevail in many parts of the Thames valley, you will, I think, see reason for supposing that in primitive times the Thames, instead of being confined within narrow banks as now, spread its waters over a wide district, and formed large lagoons, dotted with small islands. I may add that the names of places near the Thames illustrate this in a remarkable manner. The word *Eton* or *Ea-ton* is really "an island town;" the word *ea*, *ey*, or *eyot* (now corrupted into *ait*, and employed still to designate the little islands on the shores around us, where the swans form their nests) meaning "a small island." *Dorney* (Dorn for Thorn—German) means "Thorn Island." Westminster Abbey stands on what was anciently called Dorny or Thorny Island. *Putney* or *Putten-ea* means "Pond island." *Chelsea*, a corruption of *Chesel-ea*, means "Chesel or Shingle island," and so on. Thus, a great variety of names are indicative of the primitive characteristics of the River Thames. It was, as it name implies, a broad and sluggish stream, spreading its waters over a very wide surface, and covered over with small islands, and presenting such an appearance as we now only see under the influence of large floods. I must now only express my regret that I cannot further illustrate my subject. I have been unwilling altogether to disappoint you; and, perhaps, what I have said may be suggestive of other illustrations as we float thus pleasantly down the river. Of this, at least, I am satisfied, that the Thames was, in ancient times, a far broader stream than it now is. It was then, emphatically, the Thames, or the *spreading water*, dotted over here and there with marshy islands, the traditions of which are still preserved in the names of places near its present shores.

The Rev. J. BARNES, Rector of Little Marlow, then read a paper by Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, on the Nunnery of Little Marlow, which will be printed in the next number of the RECORDS.

The Rev. F. B. Ashley next read a paper on Wooburn Church, with a brief history of the parish.

The following letter was then read by Mr. Lowndes, the Secretary:—

MARLOW, *July* 28*th*, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR,—I much regret that I have business engagements, which will, in addition to my house being full of visitors, prevent my taking part in the excursion to-day. My brother and I wish to be allowed to provide the refreshments on board, and have accordingly sent down the necessary ingredients for claret cup, etc., etc., and a man to superintend the manufacture, etc. Trusting you may have a pleasant expedition, I am, my dear sir, yours very truly,

OWEN PEEL WETHERED.

Rev. Charles Lowndes.

A hearty vote of thanks, on the motion of the Rev. J. GRAVES, was awarded the donors for their thoughtful liberality.

Archdeacon BICKERSTETH moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, observing that he was an old member of the Society, and that whatever might be the political views of those present, there was no one who did not entertain a regard for the senior member for Buckinghamshire.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Du Prè said he had enjoyed the intellectual treat of the day, though he did not regret to hear there was more substantial fare awaiting them on their return (laughter). With respect to Buckinghamshire, he was very proud to represent it, although he was not at all sure the source of the Thames was contained in it.

The company soon after arrived at Marlow, where, on landing, vehicles were in readiness, which conveyed them to Spinfield House, the residence of J. Carson, Esq., who had kindly offered to entertain the Society.

After the good things provided had been done ample justice to, Mr. Carson gave "The Health of the Queen and the rest of the Royal Family," which was received with great enthusiasm.

Mr. Carson then said he was honoured with the company of the members of the Archæological Society, who had had a charming day for a very interesting visit to the neighbourhood, and he was happy to learn from their Secretary that they had been pleased. He would not take up their time by dilating upon the great good which the Society did, for he would leave that to others who were more competent than he was. They had present on that occasion a gentleman whom he and his family were proud of the honour of entertaining upon so interesting an occasion, and whose services the Society valued very highly. He would give the toast of "Success to the Bucks Archæological Society," coupled with the name of the Ven. Archdeacon of Buckingham.

The Archdeacon said :—I thank you much, Mr. Carson, for your kindness in wishing success to our Society. I thank you also, ladies and gentlemen, for your kind reception of Mr. Carson's words. I sometimes think that I am myself becoming an archæological specimen, so often have I had the privilege of responding to this toast. I have, however, to remind our kind-hearted and generous host, whose hospitalities have so much gratified and refreshed us, that the duties of President on this occasion have been discharged by our excellent friend, Mr. Du Prè. But as you have done me the honour to couple my name with this Society, I will only say that these annual gatherings are amongst the happiest that the year brings round to me. My pursuits are for the most part of a different nature from those which this Society promotes. But I take pleasure in archæological investigations, and am glad to add my humble contributions to the general store, as far as my leisure, which is not much, enables me. Of this at least I can from my heart assure you, that I enjoy with unmingled pleasure such days as these, which cheer me amidst the heavy labours and anxieties which God's Providence has assigned to me. Let me add that the enjoyments of this day have added greatly to our debt of obligation to our excellent Secretary, the Rev. Charles Lowndes, who arranges these excursions for us, and always contrives to bring us to a happy anchorage at their close. Once more let me thank you, Mr. and Mrs. Carson, for the pleasant hospitalities of Spinfield, of which our Society will always retain a grateful recollection.

Mr. Carson then said they were all highly honoured by having one of their county members present on that occasion. He would not be doing his duty to the Society did he not notice the circumstance, and he wished him health and strength to enable him to represent the county for a long time. He had served the county honestly and faithfully for many years. (Cheers.)

Mr. Du Pre thanked them for drinking his health as one of the members of the county, and regretted that they had not either of the other members present who were possessed of greater powers of oratory than he was. He had been so long a member that he thought it would be well for him to retire, and for them to look out for a better and a younger man. (Cries of "No, no.") He had spent with them a very pleasant day, and had enjoyed himself very much, and if he could do anything to contribute to the success of the Society in any way, he should be happy and proud to do it. (Cheers.) Mr. Du Prè added, the Archdeacon suggests that I should ask you to come to Wilton Park. I shall be very happy to see you there. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Carson then said if anything gave him more pleasure than another, it was to see an old friend. They had present on that occasion another Archdeacon besides their old friend Archdeacon Bickersteth; but he came from beyond the seas, and he would be glad of that opportunity to meet so many persons of his own profession. He alluded to Archdeacon Campbell from the island of Jamaica. (Hear, hear.) The Church in Jamaica had come in for a share of that measure which had been meted out to it in Ireland. The case was not exactly the same in Jamaica, but the Government of this nation had disestablished and disendowed the Church in that island. The Church in Jamaica was now in the position that it was obliged to appeal to its friends in this country for aid and support, and Archdeacon Campbell had come as one of a deputation to represent to the people of this country the position of affairs there, and to seek to enlist their sympathy on behalf of the poor people of Jamaica.

Archdeacon Campbell said he agreed with what Mr. Carson had said that little good would be done for Jamaica unless something was done for the purpose of extending religion in the island. In Jamaica there were many religious bodies, all doing a great missionary work, and all united in promoting Christianity and resisting heathenism. He then stated that he was one of a deputation which had been deputed to come to England, and endeavour to make the people acquainted with their position, and appeal to them for help in the present crisis.

A hearty vote of thanks having been given to Mr. Carson for so kindly and liberally entertaining the Society, the members and their friends rose and returned to their respective homes, having had one of the most pleasant and agreeable excursions which it has ever been their lot to enjoy.

THE MANOR AND ABBEY OF MEDMENHAM.

BY THE REV. C. LOWNDES, F.R.A.S.

Medmenham Abbey, with its physical advantages of water, wood, and rich lands and pastures, though uninteresting as a ruin, is beautifully situated on the northern bank of the river Thames. Those members who visited it on the occasion of the Society's annual excursion in the summer of 1870, when this paper was prepared, will have little difficulty in placing themselves in thought on this romantic spot, and in picturing to themselves the settlement there of its former inhabitants, and their slow and gradual progress in the arts, which enabled them to construct coracles, canoes, and boats for the navigation of that river which has been so intimately connected with the history of our country. The broad lagoon in this part of the rich valley of the Thames seems to indicate the flow of a much larger body of water, in former years, than that which, at the present day, is confined in its narrow bed. The river, indeed, proved very advantageous to the varied settlers on its banks, for by means of it an intercourse was constantly kept up amongst them, and thus, by an interchange of ideas and opinions, a great advancement in civilization took place. In running its peaceful course, it now marks the southern boundary of our County. Serene and beautiful as this part of the country is, it has been subject in former years to much strife and contention. It has been possessed at different periods by the early British, the Roman, the Anglo-Saxon, the Danes, and the Normans. Passing over its successive occupation by the three former people, we come to the time of the Danes, who have left behind them more traces than their predecessors of their settlement, in the names of "Toft," "Thorp," "By," "Fleet," which designate many villages on the banks of this King of English rivers. The younger sons of the Danish noble families, who lived by plunder and rapine, both by sea and land, extended their piratical and marauding excursions to the sea coasts, the great estuaries and navigable rivers in England, where they at first settled, and secured to themselves a ready passage to and from those seas which they were accustomed to sweep. Marching into the interior they took possession of the country north of the Thames, under the name of Danelagh, a territory under the laws and regimen of the Danes. They threw up strong fortifications at well-chosen points in their line of march to the great discomfiture of their enemies. They were, however, strongly and successfully opposed by Alfred, his son Edward, and his grandson Athelstan.

When Alfred, A.D. 893, drove Hastings, the great Danish chief, out of his kingdom, "great multitudes of his followers," as Hume informs us, "seized and fortified Shobury at the mouth of the Thames; and having left a garrison there, they marched along the river till they came to Boddington in the county of Gloucester." It is probable that on this occasion the encampment at Danesfield, called the "Danes' Ditches," and the "Horseshoe entrenchment," on the hill immediately above the ruins of the abbey, was formed, the situation being so peculiarly inviting. The entrenchment is of the form of a horseshoe, and may be easily traced. Langley, in his "History of the Hundred of Desborough," mentions that "some warlike instruments were found in making a walk round the rampart, though he had not seen them;" but Mr. Scott Murray, the present owner of Danesfield, informs me that he is not aware of anything having been discovered. Alfred afterwards made a treaty with the Danes, politic to himself, as giving inhabitants to a thinly-populated district, and providing defenders against further incursions; and advantageous to the Danes, as securing a settlement for them, and providing for their conversion to Christianity, which was one of the chief objects of Alfred's stipulations. This settlement was defined by Alfred himself, in these words: "Let the bounds of our dominion stretch to the river Thames, and from thence to the waters of Lea, even unto the head of the same water, and thence straight into Bedford, and finally going along by the river Ouse, let them end at Watling Street." After this, the Danes soon threw aside their former ferocious and lawless habits, and followed the peaceful and industrious pursuits of their neighbours. Their union with the inhabitants increased with great rapidity, and by the time of the Norman Conquest a real national unity was established amongst them.

Soon after the Conquest the manor of Medmenham was given to Hugh de Bolebec, one of the Norman barons who came over with William the Conqueror. In the Domesday Survey (translated from the original Latin) we learn—

> "That Medmenham was in Dustenberg (or Desborough) Hundred. Hugh de Bolebec held this manor, taxed at x hides. There were x carucates; in the demesne, four hides; and there were 2 carucates, and x villeins with 8 bordars, having 8 carucates. There were 4 servants, a fishery for 1000 eels; pasture for all the plough teams; wood for 40 hogs; worth 100 shillings; in the reign of the Confessor, £8. Welstan, a thane of that monarch, held the same, and could sell it." "Hugh de Bolbec also held Brock in Medmenham at a hyde. There was 1 plough-land; a plough with a villein; and 2 copyholders. It was valued at x shillings. Odo, a tenant of Brictric, held the same, and could sell it."

Hugh de Bolebec had issue two sons, Hugh and Walter. The elder son Hugh founded the Abbey of Wooburne in Bedfordshire in May, A.D. 1145, and gave the manor of Medmenham to found a cell to it. But this cell was not built until after Walter the younger son, on the death of his brother, had succeeded to the Barony. Extracts from Hearne's "Liber Niger Scaccarii," copied at length in Langley's "History of the Desborough Hundred," and from Dugd. "Monast.," vol. v. p. 684, copied in Lipscombe's "History of Buckinghamshire," which are not necessary to be repeated here, prove that Hugh de Bolebec, and not Walter, as has been asserted, was the true founder of Medmenham, or Mednam, Abbey. A charter of King John, in the second year of his reign, January 3, 1201, confirmed the gift; and in 1204 some of the Cistercian monks of Woburn came and settled here. The Chronicle of Stanley,* a Cistercian Abbey in Wiltshire, states that the attempt to colonize Medmenham was a failure, and the monks returned to Woburne the same year, when the abbot of that place was in consequence deposed. Two very old lists of Cistercian houses, and the annals of Park Louth, another abbey of the same order, concur in dating the second and in this case successful colonization of Medmenham in A.D. 1212. These monks were called Cistercian, from Cisteaux, in the bishopric of Chalons in France. They were remarkable for the strictness of their rules. Cardinal de Vitri says: "They neither wore skins nor shirts, nor ever eat flesh, except in sickness; and abstained from fish, eggs, milk, and cheese; they lay upon straw beds in tunics and cowls; they rose at midnight to prayers; they spent the day in labour, reading, and prayer; and in all their exercises observed a continual silence. They wore a white cassock with a narrow scapulary, and over that a black gown when they went abroad, but when they went to church a white one."

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* MS. Digby xi. in Bodl. Libr. Oxon.:—A.D. 1204: Exivit hoc anno conventus de Wburne ad villam quæ vocatur Medmeham super tamisiam. Eodem anno revocatus est conventus de Medmeham et abbas de Wburne depositus est propter eandem causam.

The names of very few abbots are recorded; one of the earliest has lately been discovered by Walter de Grey Birch, Esq., amongst some charters in the British Museum, a copy of which he has been kind enough to send for insertion here:—

BRITISH MUSEUM.—CAMPBELL CHARTER, X. 8.

"Omnibus et singulis tenentibus nostris de Dernedene, Dominæ. . . Priosissæ de Merlawe, Johanni filio Roberti filii Walteri de Cyppenham, Thomæ Lambert de Bekeneffeld, Simoni Saluage de eadem, Martino filio Rogeri Chapmani de eadem, Waltero Boyvile de eadem, Roberto alte Hethe de eadem, Ricardo alte Holeweye Juniori, Adæ Schrapie de Burnham, et Roberto Thomas de Derne, *Galfridus*, permissione divina, *Abbas de Medmenham* et ejusdem loci conventus salutem in domino sempiternam. Noveritis nos tradidisse, concessisse, et confirmasse domino Radulfo de Wedōn militi omnes terras et tenementa nostra cum redditibus et serviciis omnium tenencium nostrorum, et cum omnibus aliis pertinenciis in Dernedene. Quare vobis supplicamus et per presentes assignamus, quod omnimodo prædicto Radulfo et heredibus, assignatis, seu executoribus suis, de omnibus redditibus et servitiis cuilibet vestrum singillatim contingentibus juxta tenorem indenturæ inter nos inde confectæ sitis intendentes et respondentes. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune præsentibus est appentum. Datum apud Bekeneffeld die dominica in festo Sanctæ Osithæ virginis, Anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi duodecimo [Sunday, St. Osith's Day, 7 October, A.D. 1318.]

Roger occurs in A.D. 1256; Peter, on the 11th of September, A.D. 1295; John de Medmenham, in A.D. 1308; Henry, in A.D. 1416; Richard, in A.D. 1521; John Talbot, in A.D. 1536. In this Abbey in all probability was reared John de Medmeham, or Medmenham, who was elected*

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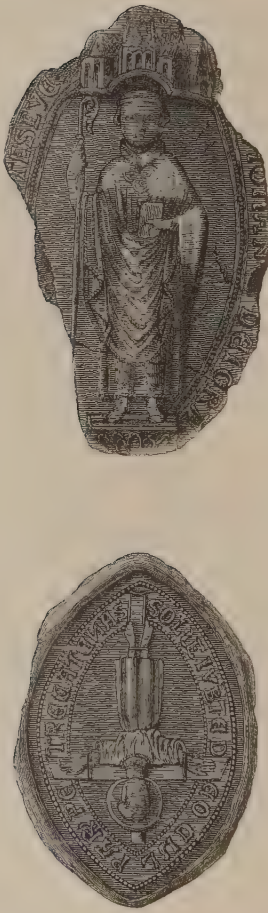
* Patent Rolls, 45 Hen. III., m. 7.



Seal of John de Medmenham, Abbot of Chertsey, A.D. 1261—1272, from the Original in the British Museum. Additional Charters, 5546-7.

To face p. 61.

Abbot of Chertsey, co. Surrey, on the 18th of July, A.D. 1261, and died in A.D. 1272.

The seal of John de Medmeham, which is given on the opposite Plate, from the original impression in the British Museum, is illustrative of the best period of the art of the seal-engraver in the middle ages. On the obverse the Abbot is represented in embroidered and fringed ecclesiastical vestments, holding in his right hand a staff with the crook towards himself, indicative of jurisdiction over his own abbey, and a closed book in the left hand. His head is uncovered, and he stands upon a richly-foliated corbel beneath a trefoiled Gothic canopy, carved in imitation of the Abbey Church. The legend, in Lombardic capitals, is as follows:—

. . . . . . OHAN . . . DEI GRA . . . . TESEYE.

Sigillum Johannis Dei Gratia Abbatis Certeseye.

On the reverse is a spirited delineation of the Martyrdom of St. Peter, the Patron Saint of the Abbey, with the legend, in similar characters, thus:—

SOLVE IVB̄TE DEO CVLPAR, PETRE CATENAS.

Solve jubente Deo culparum, Petre, Catenas.

This reverse or counterseal is also used upon the common seal of the Abbey.

The Abbey of Medmenham was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and its seal was "the effigies of the Blessed Virgin crowned, sitting on a splendid throne, in her bosom the divine Infant. The only impression remaining is that of John 1308, which is a neat oval seal, with the inscription at the edge, "S. Fris. Johis. Mendham" (*Sigillum Fratris Johannis Mendham*). In the beginning of the sixteenth century it was annexed to the Abbey of Bristleham, or Bisham, on the opposite side of the river in the county of Berks. On the suppression of the monasteries in the time of Henry VIII., the Commissioners returned that this "monastery was of the order of St. Bernard (who became a Cistercian monk A.D. 1114), the clear value £20 6*s.* 2*d.*; monks there two; and both desyren to go to houses of religion; servants none; bells, etc., etc., worth £2 6*s.* 8*d.*; the house wholly in ruin; the value of the moveable goods £1 3*s.* 8*d.*; woods none; debts none."

Browne Willis gives an account of the state of the abbey in 1718. "The abbey-house seems, most part of it, to have been built since the dissolution, as doth the chapel at the end of one of the wings. There is no painted glass or arms remaining in it. In the chapel, which is a low-tiled building, paved with ordinary brick, lie some marble carvings, being representations of our Saviour. These arms are in the chapel; argent a cross gules, being the arms of St. George at Windsor. They can give very little or no account of the Abbey, and no more is remembered to be standing than what now remains, which is part of the north aisle." The above coat of arms is in allusion to the fact that the Abbot of Medmenham was, *ex officio*, Epistolar of the Order of the Garter at Windsor, and it was his duty to read the Epistle in the morning service of St. George's day, when the sovereign celebrated the annual feast.

In his "Mitred Abbeys," vol. ii., p. 29, Willis says, "Here remains still standing the walls of the north isle of the Abbey Church; 'tis in length 16 yards, and in breadth 4; it seems by this to have been a neat, stately building, well wrought with ashlar work; the windows high and spatious. It probably consisted of a body and 2 side isles and chancell, and had a tower at the west-end. The house that is now called the Abbey House seems to have been patched up after the dissolution."

Langley, in his "History of the Hundred of Desborough," published A.D. 1797, remarks that "The chapel no longer remains, and only one pillar is standing of the north aisle." He also adds, "The figure of the Virgin, seated on a throne, and holding the Infant Saviour in her arms, carved in marble, still remains, and is placed in a niche of the tower."

The appearance of the abbey at the present day bears out this description which is given of it in the last century. The alterations and additions have been so many and great, that there is really nothing left to interest the architect or the antiquary.

Soon after the Reformation and the suppression of Bisham Abbey, the lands belonging to the monastery of Medmenham were granted to Robert Moore and others. The family of Duffield succeeded very soon afterwards; for James Duffield, who resided at the abbey, presented to the living in 1563, and possessed the estate till 1779, when the site of the abbey was purchased by John Martin, Esq., Chief Justice of Chester, and was sold by his widow together with Danesfield, in 1786, to Robert Scott, Esq., of Crailing, co. Roxburg, who bequeathed it to his widow, Emma Assheton Smith for life, and at her death to her nephew Charles Scott Murray, whose son is the present possessor. During the last century the abbey was tenanted by an association of men of wit and fashion, under the title of the Monks of St. Francis, whose habit they assumed. Over the door is inscribed their motto, "*Fay ce que voudras*," which the old lady who was in the habit of showing the ruins translated "Do what you like, but don't divulge!" This association was also called the "Hell Fire Club" or "The Monks of Medmenham." It was an association of similar iniquity to the Mohawk or Mohock Club, which was abolished by the order of the Privy Council in 1721. A pamphlet was published entitled "The Hell Fire Club, kept by a Society of Blasphemers," a satyre inscribed to the Right Hon. Thomas Baron Maiderfield, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, with the king's order in council for suppressing immorality and profaneness. It condemned in general terms the diabolical profaneness, immorality, and debauchery of its meetings. There were three of these suspicious associations in London, to which upwards of forty persons of quality of both sexes belonged.

The association which assumed the name of "Hell Fire Club" comprised Sir Francis Dashwood, afterwards Lord le Despencer, John Wilkes, Paul Whitehead, and other kindred spirits. Paul Whitehead was the secretary, and was one of the select few for whose use it is believed the "Essay on Woman" was written, as is supposed, by John Wilkes. Their orgies were celebrated at Medmenham Abbey, which they converted into a convivial retreat, and hence their designation, "the Monks of Medmenham Abbey." The manners and habits of these *modern* monks were the very opposite to those of the former monks of this old abbey. One night the profligate party were overwhelmed with terror at the apparition of a huge ape, hideously attired, which had been lowered down through the window. They believed that the fiend himself had appeared amongst them, and their meetings were then finally broken up. Of their sayings and doings, impious orgies and rites, it is needless here to speak. The club could only have been formed at a time when libertinism and impiety were carried to lengths now happily unknown.

Johnstone, in his novel ("Chrysal; or, the Adventures of a Guinea"), has probably furnished the longest, but somewhat fictitious, account of this Club. Some other particulars of this mysterious fraternity may be found in Capt. Thompson's "Life of Paul Whitehead," edit. 1729, pp. 33—39; the "Town and County Magazine, i., p. 122; and "Churchill's Poems," edit. Tooke, 1854, iii., pp. 168, 185, 275. It is not surprising that a Club which had excited so much notoriety, and provoked so much satire, should have rendered itself an object of literary curiosity.

ACCOUNT OF THE NUNNERY OF LITTLE MARLOW.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ.

The Benedictine Nunnery of Little Marlow, originally styled "*De Fontibus de Merlawe,*" and at a later period Minchin Marlow, presents to the antiquarian very few, and to the archæologist, it may be said, no traces of its former state of unambitious yet flourishing retirement. It was situated close to the river Thames, in the parish of Little Marlow, where the watercourse forms a bend to the north, upon a low-lying piece of ground now comprised, as the map indicates, between Spade Oak Wharf, Coares End, and Well End, which latter place seems to keep alive the remembrance of the ancient title of the Nunnery "*De Fontibus,*" but no remains of any conventual edifice are understood to exist at the present day, to point out the exact locality of this quiet and peaceful retreat of holy women from the troublous times in which they had the sole alternative of living.

The conjectures of Leland, Tanner, Langley, and Dugdale, vary considerably in their attempts to establish the actual date of the foundation of the house. Unfortunately no register, chartulary, or account-book of the nunnery has as yet been found to throw any light upon this period of its history, and its importance does not seem to have been sufficiently great to deserve a full mention in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. in 1291, although we know positively that it was in being fully fifty years previous to that date: inasmuch as in its best days it sheltered but five or six nuns at a time, the probability is that very little business of a public or external nature was transacted with it, nevertheless, as it is first known to have been in regular order and capable of acquiring lands in the time of King John, there is every reason to believe and suppose that it was founded in the twelfth century, and possibly Langley is right in ascribing the date of its foundation to the reign of Henry II. Whether it owed its being to the labour and devoted self-sacrifice of a recluse, or sprang at once into comparative affluence by the generosity of a rich and noble patron, or was a branch of some larger nunnery, are points that cannot be solved with the scanty records that we as yet possess regarding this religious house. Like the generality of these establishments in England, this one was governed according to the rules of the Benedictine Order. I need not remind my hearers that this order of religious was instituted by St. Benedict about the year 516, and was received both abroad and in Britain with the greatest favour and attended with the most marked success, more than four-fifths of the entire number of houses for the reception of monks and nuns being regulated by the ordinances originally promulgated by the saint and modified to suit national requirements. It would be unnecessary here to point out the different reasons that may be assigned for the strong hold these simple yet decisive rules of solitude and self-denial gained over the impetuous disposition of the natives of our islands. The liberal spirit in which they were framed entered, without doubt, largely into the success they achieved, and accounts in no slight degree for the universal popularity of the Benedictines and their manner of life; especially at a time when the sole choice for the ardent spirits of the better-born lay between the battle-field of blood, the intrigues of court life, and the quiet retirement of the church or the cloister. Many converts, including those of the highest rank, renouncing all interest and position in the State, gladly accepted in exchange the privilege of joining the heaven-inspired bands of men and women, whose influence for the better over the mental condition of their countrymen, at a time when all beyond their walls was bloodshed, rapine, or lawlessness, was far greater than that exercised by any other class of society. From this nunnery, and other such places, proceeded in the early mediæval times not only all that there was of religion, not only the hymn of praise and the prayer of thanksgiving, but all that there was of the arts and sciences, medicine, surgery, agriculture, and manufacture, to exercise the softening influence of gradual civilization upon a people that had only just learned to forget its barbarism.

This nunnery was dedicated, like many hundred others, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and as late as 1718 contained a painting of its patroness; when the place was demolished, this may have been removed to a place of safety, but has not yet been heard of, possibly it may be discovered in some obscure corner not far from the seat of its former devotion. Taking notice of the recorded events which bear upon the history of the nunnery in order of chronology, I find that the antiquary Leland has stated, without any apparent authority, that a certain Geoffrey, Lord Spencer, was the first founder, but the name of this peer does not occur in the text-books, and is probably an error of that writer; at any rate, it cannot be accepted without some corroboration. Among the earlier notices of the nunnery is that contained in the register of Missenden Abbey, in this county, comprising an agreement between a certain A——, prioress of Merlawe, and the Canons of Missenden. This charter is stated to be of the time of King John, and, as it has never before been given *in extenso*, I have ventured to insert it in a note, from the original manuscript in the British Museum.*

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* MS. Harl. 3688, fol. 98, *b*.

Quædam obligacio A—— priorissæ de Merlawe de iiij sol. reddendis Abbathiæ de Messenden.

Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri quod ego A. priorissa de fontibus de Merlawe et ejusdem loci humilis conventus annuatim solvere tenemur iiij solidos argenti Canonicis de Messendene ad duos terminos anni, scilicet ad festum Beatæ Mariæ in Martio, et reliquam medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis, pro grava quæ appellatur *Ludeput* juxta

In the ninth year of Henry III., A.D. 1224-25, permission was granted by the King to the nuns to hold a fair at Ivingho, in this county; and in the eleventh year of the same monarch this grant was confirmed, and ten acres of assart land in Hemelhamsted added. In the fourteenth year of King Henry, A.D. 1229-30, a rent in Mareto, perhaps an error for Marelo, or Marlow, was the subject of an entry in the Close Rolls in their favour. In the year 1230, Agnes de Anvers, or Danvers, then Patroness of the nunnery, gave her assent to the election of Matilda de Anvers, in all probability a relative, as prioress. The name of Cecilia de Turville occurs as prioress two years later, A.D. 1232, and that of Admiranda in A.D. 1247.

About this period, Isabella, Countess of Hertford and Gloucester, in conjunction with Sir Ralph Danvers, appears to have exercised the patronage of the nunnery. We find an application being made to them in A.D. 1244, on occasion of a vacancy, to elect a prioress, and they probably assented to the election of Admiranda.

Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, gave his licence for the election of Eva, otherwise called Yava de Whitenis, upon the loss of Admiranda, by death or resignation.

The next prioress upon record is Felicia de Kennebel, who resigned office in A.D. 1265, and was succeeded on the 4th of the Kalends of April (29 March) by Gunnora.

Gunnora resigned, according to Cole, in favour of Agnes, who is stated by Langley to have been surnamed De London, and to have resigned in A.D. 1270, whereas Cole calls her Agnes de Wexham, and places her election on the Ides of November (13th), in A.D. 1273.

The succession of prioresses was continued by the election of Agnes de Cliveden, who resigned her position in the nunnery in A.D. 1299. In the year A.D. 1291, the

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fossatum terræ ecclesiæ de Hedesore, et acram terræ et dimidiam quæ jacent juxta terram ecclesiæ ejusdem villæ versus Wouburniam cum quodam angulo jacente juxta viam. Quod si ad predictos terminos vel infra xv dies proximo sequentes prefatum redditum jam dictis canonicis non reddiderimus, predicti canonici prefatam terram cum prefata grava, velut tenementum suum in manu sua tenebunt. Testibus Henrico de Scaccario; Reginaldo de Hampdene; Radulpho de Wedone; Matheo Brand; Roberto de Burnham; Hugone filio Roberti; Nicholao Capellano; Wiodus; Thoma Pincerna, et aliis.

Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. took place, but from the apparently imperfect manner in which that survey was taken, the possessions of Little Marlow Nunnery were omitted from the record, with the exception of ten shillings for its temporalities in the parish of St. Peter, Wallingford, in Berkshire.

On the 17th of September, A.D. 1299, Juliana succeeded as prioress by the preferment of Ralph de Monthermer, son-in-law of King Edward I., and Earl of Gloucester, in conjunction with William Danvers. This prioress, like most of her predecessors, resigned office, and Roesia de Weston was elected on the fourth of the Ides of June (10th), A.D. 1305.

A break here intervenes, until the occurrence of Joanna de Stonore as prioress, in A.D. 1343, whose death in A.D. 1349 gave place to Margeria de Jeromide.

Continuing the series, we next meet the name of Susanna de Hampton, whose resignation was accepted in A.D. 1395. Willis mentions a second Roesia de Westone, elected in A.D. 1395, but it is more than probable that he fell into an error with regard to the date, confusing it with that of the first Roesia, who entered upon her duties in 1305. The next prioress noted in the records is Joanna, under the date A.D. 1403.

After another hiatus, Elizabeth Broke, prioress, resigned in A.D. 1474, making way for Isabella Savage, appointed on the 14th of August in the same year, by Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Little Marlow then lay, the presentation having lapsed to him from the proper patrons.

Eleanora Kirby occurs on the 15th of October, A.D. 1492; and Eleanora Bernard in A.D. 1516. This lady resigned office here for the more influential position of Prioress of St. Mary de Pratis, near St. Albans. The last prioress, whose name remains, was Margeria, or Margareta Vernon. She occurs in the year A.D. 1530, and became Abbess of Malling, in Kent, after the 26th of Henry VIII., A.D. 1534—1535, and probably not before the dissolution of her nunnery in A.D. 1537. An interesting letter, written by her to Thomas Cromwell, the King's Secretary, detailing the proceedings of the Visitors appointed to examine the Religious Houses, and offering to surrender, exists in the British Museum; and, as it has hitherto escaped the notice of monastic historians, because she makes no direct mention of the name of her nunnery, I venture to insert it here, as throwing some light upon the history of the dissolution. Her willingness to resign the post she occupied at Little Marlow no doubt conduced, in a great measure, to her obtaining promotion to the then vacant dignity of Abbess in a much richer nunnery, that of Malling, in Kent; but even this she did not hold for long, as she surrendered with eleven nuns on the 29th of October, 30 Henry VIII., A.D. 1538, and obtained a yearly pension of £40 during her lifetime.

ORIGINAL Letter from the Prioress to Thomas Cromwell offering to surrender (MS. Cotton., Cleopatra E. iv., folio 71):—

"To the Ryght onurabyll and hyr most specyall good mayster, mayster secretary vnto the Kynges most nobyll grace.

"After all dew commendacyons had vnto yowre good maystershyp with my most vmble thankes for the greate cost mayd on me and my pore madyn at my last beynge with yowre maystershyp, farthermore plesyth yt yow to vnderstonde that yowre vysytors hath bene here of late who hath dyscharged iij of my systers, the one is dame Katheryn the other ij is the yonge women that were last professyd whyche yt not a lyttyll to my dyscomforte, nevertheless I must be content with the Kynges plesure, but now as towchynge my nowne parte I most vmbly beseche yow to be so specyall good mayster vnto me yowre poore bedewoman as to geve me yowre beste advertysment and counseyle what waye shalbe best for me to take seynge there shalbe none left here but myselfe and thys pore madyn, and yf yt wyll please yowre goodnes to take thys pore howse Into yowre owne hondes other for yowre selfe or for my nowne m[ayster] yowre soune, I woyld be glad with all my hart to geve yt Into yowre maystershypes hondes with that ye wyll commaunde me to do therin: Trustynge and nothynge dowptynge In yowre goodnes that ye wyll so provyd for vs that we shall have syche onest lyvynge that we shall not be dreven be necessyte nether to begge nor to fall to no other vnconvenyence, and thus I offer my selfe and all myne vnto yowre most hygh and prudent wysdom, as vnto him that ys my onely Refuge and comfort In thys world, besechynge god of hys goodnes to put In yow hys holy sprete that ye maye do all thynges to his lawde and glory,

"By yowre owne assured bedewoman,
"MARGARET VERNON."

In 1537, the nunnery of Little Marlow was dissolved, and, in combination with several other small monasteries, transferred, as far as possessions went, by King Henry VIII., to the Abbey of Bisham or Bustlesham, in Berkshire, a few miles further up the river on the opposite bank. This abbey had just been refounded and endowed with ample possessions drawn chiefly from the religious houses in the vicinity. Willis, in his "History of Mitred Abbeys," gives the following account of the Survey rendered by the Commissioners for the dissolution:—"That it was of the order of St. Benet. Clere value, £23 3s. 7d. per annum. Nunns two, both desyren capacitys. Servants two, women servants two, and one priest. Bells, lead, etc., worth by estimation, £4 10s. 8d. The house in good estate. The value of the goods, £17 0s. 2d. Debts, none. Woods, eight acres, six above twenty years' growth."

The following is an abstract of a very interesting document, showing the locality of the different possessions of this body, being the Minister's Account from the Roll of 28 Hen. VIII., A.D. 1537, in the Record Office:—

	£	s.	d.
Rents, etc., in Little Marlow . .	9	16	3
,, ,, Great Marlow . .	2	12	0
,, ,, Hambledon . .	1	7	4
,, ,, Beckensfeld . .	0	7	2
,, ,, Cabroke . . .	1	19	8
,, ,, Taplowe . . .	1	7	2
,, ,, Wycombe and Penne .	1	9	0
,, ,, Wendover and Weston-Turnville . .	2	8	2
,, ,, Benfeld (co. Berks) .	0	3	4
Dominical Lands, etc. . . .	16	12	7
	£38	2	9

There is also extant in the First Fruits Office the Return of Valor Ecclesiasticus, made in 26 Hen. VIII., of which the following is an abstract:—

	£	s.	d.
Temporalities of the Nunnery :—			
In Little Marlow	7	6	10½
Great Marlow	2	11	4
Hamulden	1	6	8
Hogeley and Stoke	1	6	8
Beconfeld	0	7	2½
Wooburne* and Hedsore	0	12	8
Burnehame and Taplowe	2	18	4
Wycombe and Penne	1	15	1
Wendover and Weston-Turvyle	3	2	5
Dominical Lands, etc.	4	1	7
Wood-sales, etc.	1	0	0
	£26	8	10
Spiritualities of the Nunnery :—			
Rectory of Little Marlow	10	0	0
Offerings in Colebrook Chapel	0	10	0
Proper tithes	0	8	1
	10	18	1
	26	8	10
Gross value	£37	6	11
The Outgoings were :—			
Rents, and Fees	6	12	4
Annuity to Bp. of London	1	0	0
Salary of a Chaplain for the Nuns	5	6	8
Archdeacon of Bucks	0	17	7¾
Alms for the soul of the King, the Founder	0	6	8
Gross outgoings	14	3	3¾
Clear value	23	3	7¼
Tithe due to the King	2	6	4½

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* Bought by Richard Langley, 21 Sept., 1592, and retained until lately in the family.

The new foundation of Bisham Abbey, with its great endowments, says Langley, was only a veil to conceal the king's real designs, and to allay the commotion which the rapid dissolution of religious houses occasioned. In two years' time, Bisham, following the fate of the other monasteries, surrendered, in the persons of Abbot Cowdrey and fifteen monks, and the site of Little Marlow Nunnery was granted to John Titley and Elizabeth Restwold, as appears by an original entry dated 19 November, 32 Hen. VIII., containing the king's grant to these persons of the "scite, etc., of the late monastery and priory of Minchen Marlowe." It would appear that a lease of the lands and other properties of the nunnery had been granted soon after the suppression on the 28th year of Hen. VIII. to Elizabeth Restwold. The indenture of lease is given at length in the King's Charter for the refoundation of Bisham, and in the body of the deed the names of the lands belonging to Little Marlow Nunnery are particularly set forth.

In the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary, A.D. 1556—1557, these lands were alienated to John Lord Williams of Thame, and Henry Norreys, Esq. None of the registers or official books belonging to the house are known to be in existence. This is more to be regretted, as the books, if available, would have afforded ample means of arriving at a more accurate knowledge of the affairs of the nunnery, and would have given, in addition, a variety of miscellaneous information, alike interesting to the historian, topographer, and genealogist. An impression of the common seal of this nunnery, appended to an original deed bearing date May 1st, 22 Hen. VII., that is, A.D. 1444, was formerly in the possession of John Caley, Esq., one of the editors of Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum." It represented the Blessed Virgin Mary bearing in her lap the Infant Jesus, and sitting crowned and draped upon a throne between two slender pillars supporting an ornamental arch. In the *exergue*, in a niche, a half length figure of an ecclesiastic, adoring the Saint. The legend ran:— . . . . CTE MA . . . . DE . . . . , probably for Sigillum Sanctæ Mariæ de Marlow. Willis, the antiquarian, who visited the site in A.D. 1718, says that the "great part of this Convent is still standing, though in ruins. The Tower stood at one corner, separate from the offices. The Church or Chapel was a small tiled building, ceiled at top. Against the east wall are still to be seen some paintings of the Virgin Mary; on each side of her was a saint."

The Hall measured twenty yards long, by five yards wide; and in the windows were three coats of arms: 1. Gules, a lion passant guardant, langued, or; over all a band of the second, probably those of King John, as Earl of Gloucester. 2. Quarterly, first and fourth, argent, a bear salient, sable, muzzled, or; *Bernard*, second and third, gules, three pikes in fesse, argent; *Lucy*, or more probably *Lilling*, as is preserved in a pencil note of late date on the margin of the copy of "Langley's History," in the King's Library in the British Museum. Crest, on a wreath, a bear's head, coupé tenné, muzzled, or. 3. Azure, two wings conjoined, tenné, by a silk twist with tassels, over all a fesse. These arms probably belong to the family of *Cawoodley*, or *Cawodley*, of Devonshire, whose correct bearing is: Azure, two wings conjoined, argent, over all on a fesse, gules, three bezants.

The conventual hall was pulled down in A.D. 1740. Langley, writing in 1797, states that "there are at the present time scarcely any remains of the Convent." Part of the wall of the Tower was, however, yet standing, but the other ruins had been taken down, and a farm-house built with the old materials; this may possibly be that now called the Abbey Farm.

In conclusion, the archæologist who is desirous of pursuing the subject of Little Marlow Nunnery from the early times of King John down almost to the present day will find Thomas Langley's "History of the Hundred of Desborough;" Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. iv.; Tanner's "Notitia Monastica;" Willis's "Mitred Abbies;" the "Record" publications of the various Rolls and Charters of a public nature; and the MS. catalogues in the British Museum, of great use and necessity in eliminating the history of the religious house which in this account has been told as briefly as possible.*

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* An opportunity here presents itself of giving *in extenso*, a transcript of the account of Little Marlow, made by the Commissioners for collecting

HORSENDON CHURCH, BUCKS.

This little Church having within the last two years been much improved by an extension eastwards, under the direction of Mr. W. White, the architect, some account of its previous fortunes may not be uninteresting.

Lipscombe gives this brief account of it :—

> "This church, which is dedicated to St. Michael, 38 feet long by 21 wide, appears to have been in a neglected state when visited by Browne Willis in 1728, and then consisted of a nave and chancel tiled, and an embattled tower at the west end, in which hung a single bell; the others having, as is presumed, been taken away during the civil war. It was rebuilt (?) in 1765, under a faculty obtained for that purpose from Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln."

In a note Lipscombe gives further particulars to the following effect—that the Bishop was petitioned by Edward Stone, then rector; John Grubb, Esq., patron; and Joseph Stevens, churchwarden. The petition was dated May 15th, 1765; and it set forth that the Parish Church had been erected more than 500 years, that it was decayed and unfit for Divine Service, and that the inhabitants did not exceed twenty in number; but that the Chancel being still a substantial building, capable of hold-

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the Ninths in A.D. 1342-43. It is valuable as throwing a light upon the state of the Parish and Nunnery at that period, and has unfortunately been omitted by those who have written the local history of the village :—

"Inquisitiones nonarum in curia scaccarii, p. 334, col. i. Parva Merlawe. Tax' xxiii, marcarum. Valor nonæ in eâdem parochiâ per presentiam Thomæ de Farndone, Thomæ Laweman, senioris; Thomæ Laweman, junioris; Johannis Couherde, Johannis de Hedesore, Johannis de Lyndlee, Thomæ Le Carter et Johannis Hurtepyk una cum nonâ de temporalibus priorissæ de parva Merlawe xviii marcæ et non plus, quia dicunt quod sexta pars terræ arabilis in parochiâ prædictâ jacet frisca et inculta; dicunt etiam quod vi. faldæ ovium quæ solebant esse in parochiâ prædictâ deficiebant hoc anno; dicunt etiam quod nulli sunt in parochiâ prædictâ qui ad quintam decimam taxari possunt. Valor nonæ, xviii. marcæ."

The following references to public records, relating to the possessions of the Nunnery, are given by Tanner :—

"Close Rolls.—9 Hen. III., m. 12, pro feria apud Ivingho."

"Charters.—11 Hen. III., p. 1, m. 13, n. 115, pro feria ibidem in vigilia, die, et crastino Sanctæ Margaretæ, et x acris assarti in Hemilhamsted."

"Close Rolls.—11 Hen. III., m. 16, de terris in Hemilhamsted."

"Close Rolls.—14 Hen. III., m. 11, de redditu in Mareto."

"Charters.—17 Hen. III., m. 2, pro ecclesia de Merewe."

"Patent Rolls.—35 Hen. III., m. 13, dorso."

"Patent Rolls.—8 Edw. I., m. 3, vel. 4."

ing 100 persons, the patron proposed at his own expense to take down the nave and the tower, and to erect another tower at the west end of the Chancel out of the old materials if permitted to do so. Upon this a commission was issued, and after due inquiry the license was granted December 16th, by which the Chancel was converted into the Parish Church, the cost of the future repairs of the said Chancel, so converted, being appointed to be divided between the rector and parishioners, in the proportion of one-third to the former, and two-thirds to the latter.

In addition to this information from Lipscombe, the following particulars have been kindly placed at the disposal of the Venerable Archdeacon Bickersteth, by the Rev. C. S. Grubb, late Archdeacon of Maritzburg, Natal, and now Vicar of Mentmore, whose family were formerly possessors of the Manor of Horsendon. There is in possession of a member of Mr. Grubb's family a letter from Dr. Browne Willis to Mr. John Grubb, the father of the Mr. John Grubb who took down the Church. This letter is dated June 4th, 1750. After giving a list of some of the rectors, he says :—

> "The successor of Thomas Chapman was Joseph Willis, A.B., 1697, whom I knew a little, and he was rector here in 1728, when I visited your Church last, and took the descriptions of it, viz., that it consisted of a nave or body, and chancel, which were tyled, and had at the west end an embattled tower open there at the lofts, with only one bell left, two others being seemingly stolen away or sold, and that the chancel windows, good part of them, were stopped up, and that there had been a south aisle, as was visible by stopping up the arches, and that the chancel had been, as appeared to me, anciently leaded, and that the walls were green, and the church officiated in but once in about three weeks, and that here were only three families and sixteen souls."

The letter goes on to state that he (Browne Willis) took an account of the monuments of the Grubb family. He also noted that the Manor House had been moated about and garrisoned for King Charles; and that the owner (Denham) was sequestered for delinquency. He adds, "Hon. service to all gentlemen with you, especially Mr. Sawyer. *I hope all will plead 'for your keeping up the steeple or tower.'*" This last sentence, says Mr. J. Eustace Grubb (brother to Rev. C. S. Grubb) seems to show that some alterations were in contemplation at that time, 1750. Mr. J. E. Grubb adds the following particulars from personal recollection :—

"The old Church extended as far as the stables, the eastern or front wall of which occupies the site of the western end of the Church or tower, or nearly so. About 1812, when my father came to Horsendon, the old key of the church was dug up under the threshold of the stable. It had evidently been lost in the rubbish when the church was pulled down. Its discovery confirmed the tradition that the present lock on the Church door is the same as originally belonged to the old Church. It was kept at the Manor House for many years ; but, I believe, it was lost about the time when the family left Horsendon.

"As the old Church extended to the stable, the question arises how came the road to intervene between the present Church and the stable? I have never been told how or when this happened; but I think I can explain it, or, at all events, I can give the clue.

"The John Grubb to whom Browne Willis wrote the letter already referred to, died at a great age in 1760, and was succeeded by his son John, whose portrait hangs in the drawing-room here (29, Holland Park). When he first came to the property, the road to Thame by Horsendon ran out of the present road right across Millbank to the haw-haw fence, which separates Millbank from the terrace opposite the moat; it then ran beside the haw-haw till it came nearly to the mount, then it took a sharp turn towards the cottages, and then another sharp turn towards the church, crossing the churchyard moat, not where it does now, but higher up, and nearly midway between the present bridge and the bridge which carries the road up to the house. I have never found any person who knew which course the road took after crossing the moat, but I suspect that it ran at the foot of the mound on which the church is built, and between the church and the house, skirting the churchyard, and passing at the back of the stables into the present road at the corner of the farmyard nearest the parsonage. The 'John Grubb' who altered the church, altered the course of the road to its present direction; viz., instead of crossing Millbank, keeping a straight direction past the cottages, and thence by a curve at the back of the churchyard to the point where the old road came into it at the corner of the farmyard above referred to. The effect of this alteration might have been to add a little to the churchyard at the eastern end, near the moat, or indeed to throw the old road into the churchyard from where it used to cross the moat till it came into the present road leading from the stables to the house; and as a compensation for this addition to the churchyard a portion of the site of the old Church and churchyard might have been taken in exchange, and converted into a road and stables. I never myself could make out accurately where the churchyard ended, and the private property began, and I doubt whether any person knows it, though no doubt it can be made out by documents and the agreements. I have also often tried, but without success, to get an old map that shows the course of the old road. There is no doubt, however, that a slice of the churchyard, or possibly only of the site of the Church, has been taken off near the stables. I have myself picked up human bones protruding from the churchyard into the roadway at this point. Mr. Partridge told me, the last time I was at Horsendon, that in a recent digging between the present Church and the stable, within the limits of the present churchyard, for some purpose, the foundations of a pillar had been found. This I take to have been one of the pillars which separated the nave from the south aisle.

"What became of the materials of the Church and tower, beyond what was required to build the new tower? No doubt a large proportion, perhaps the largest, went to mend the roads! This I knew was my father's idea. He told me that when he was a boy, the roads about there (meaning, I presume, about the Church, and more especially the comparatively new road round the churchyard from the farmyard to the cottages) were repaired with old tombstones and church materials that had been broken up. I take it these were partly the old materials, and partly, perhaps, some tombstones, which tradition says my grandfather got to be removed from the churchyard. I do not suppose that there were ever many in the churchyard; but it is said that what there were he caused to be removed, and would never allow a stone to be put up which could be visible from the house. He was not fond of this kind of '*memento mori.*' You probably remember an arched doorway that used to lead out of the wainscoated room into a closet. Formerly it led into the ante-room, or the landing just outside the ante-room. I think I have heard that this came from the Church. There was also a piscina in one of the walls of the dining-room, not visible, but bricked up and plastered over. Its position was indicated in our days by a difference of colour in the paper, but I fancy its existence is remembered no more. Meade referred to this as one of his proofs that the house had been formerly a religious house of some sort. It is far more probable that this piscina was also borrowed from the old Church. Indeed, I knew the history of the place too well to entertain Meade's theory for a moment. The present house no doubt occupies the site of the old Manor House, which was always in lay hands.

"I think it is probable that old John Grubb (he I mean who altered the Church) used more of the old church materials, fit for the purpose, about the house, in which he made great alterations. Probably the refuse stuff was used in making the new road.

"J. Eustace Grubb."

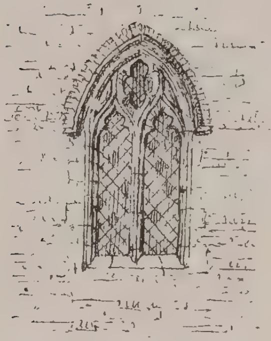
WORMINGHALL CHURCH.

[The following account of the Church and Parish of Worminghall, drawn up by the Rev. J. Baron, Vicar of Waterpery, and Joseph Clarke, Esq., Architect, of London, was presented in manuscript, on Friday in Easter week, 1846, to the Right Honourable Henry Viscount Clifden, Patron of the Church and Lord of the Manor of Worminghall, by His Lordship's most obedient and faithful servant, James Statter, Vicar. It has been kindly lent for insertion in the "Records."]

The little Church of Worminghall, dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, in the deanery of Waddesden, county Bucks, consists of a Chancel, Nave, West Tower, and modern brick Porch.

This was formerly a Norman Church, of which some remains now exist. The present Chancel is Decorated, built late in the fourteenth century, having a high-pitched roof, but the framing of which is concealed by a plaster ceiling. The East Window, of three lights, is a late

1



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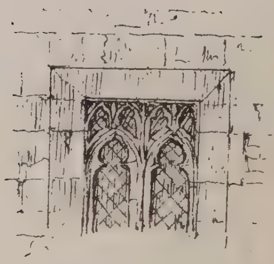

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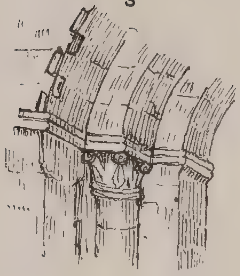

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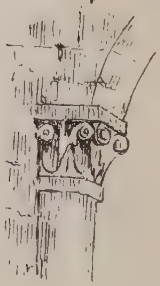

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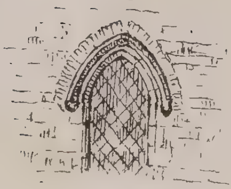

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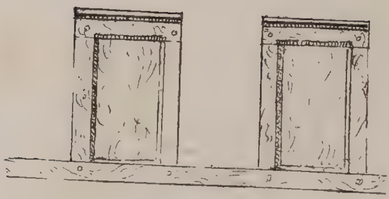

PLATE I.

83.

Perpendicular insertion of about 1480, and co-eval with the Tower.

Two of the original Decorated Windows (see Plate 1, Fig. 1) remain in the south wall, of two lights each, with common cusped triangular heads; in the head of the westernmost is a fragment of old glass. The Sill-splays are brought down very low, and the easternmost window is made to contain the Sedilia. Against the north wall is hung a small oaken tablet, on which are carved the arms of the see of London, impaling those of John King.*

The walls of the Nave are, no doubt, part of the original Norman structure; as on the north side, close to a two-light, square-headed, perpendicular inserted window (see Plate 1, Fig. 2), may clearly be traced a small but plain Norman opening, which must have been a window; and on this side also is the usual north door, of Norman workmanship, with a tympanum over, making the opening square-headed. On the south side is a good, bold, Norman doorway (see Plate 1, Fig. 3), with the billet moulding over, and showing an early instance of the chamfer splay cut into the square.

The Chancel Arch (see Plate 1, Fig. 4) is Norman, having small columns at the angles, with carved heads, of the early part of the twelfth century. A huge opening to give light has been made in the south wall by the pulpit; and an Early English inserted window (see Plate 1, Fig. 5), unusually wide for so small a Church, remains in the western end of this wall. A small square opening on the east side, within the Nave, by the south door, was probably used as a Stoup; but the great feature of the whole Church is the perfect existence of the original open seats standing on frames and of two different dates (see Plate 1, Fig. 6); they have been left mostly untouched, and only by the Chancel Arch are they removed to make way for the modern square pews.

The Font, of the thirteenth century, is cylindrical, and in good preservation. The roof of the Nave is of good pitch, but, like that of the Chancel, concealed by a plaster ceiling, which, it is not improbable, is the chief cause of its present very defective and decayed state.

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* See account in Historical Notice.

The Tower is late Perpendicular, but harmonizes well with the other parts of the Church. The Arch is boldly moulded, but concealed by an unnecessary gallery.

The West Window is of three lights, under a depressed head, and appears not to have been completed; the heels of the mullions, etc., are left uncut. The Tower is divided into two stages above the ground. The floor for the ringers is lighted by a single light on each side, and the Belfry by a two-light window in the same position. The roof is covered with lead, which is very defective.

The view of the exterior of the Church from a distance is pleasing. The picturesque Bell Stair-turret on the south side, with the battlemented coping of the Tower and high-pitched roof, make a good outline. The Tower is supported at the north and south-west angles by buttresses rising in three stages, and the different faces above are parted by horizontal string-courses. The junction with the Nave is strengthened by huge buttresses on each side, which, being the only ones against the body of the Church, strengthen the supposition that the walls of the Nave, at least, are of Norman work.

All the original windows have hoods over them, but the stonework generally on the outside requires a thorough and substantial repair. A modern cross remains above the gable of the Nave, and the mutilated remains of an earlier one above the Chancel gable.

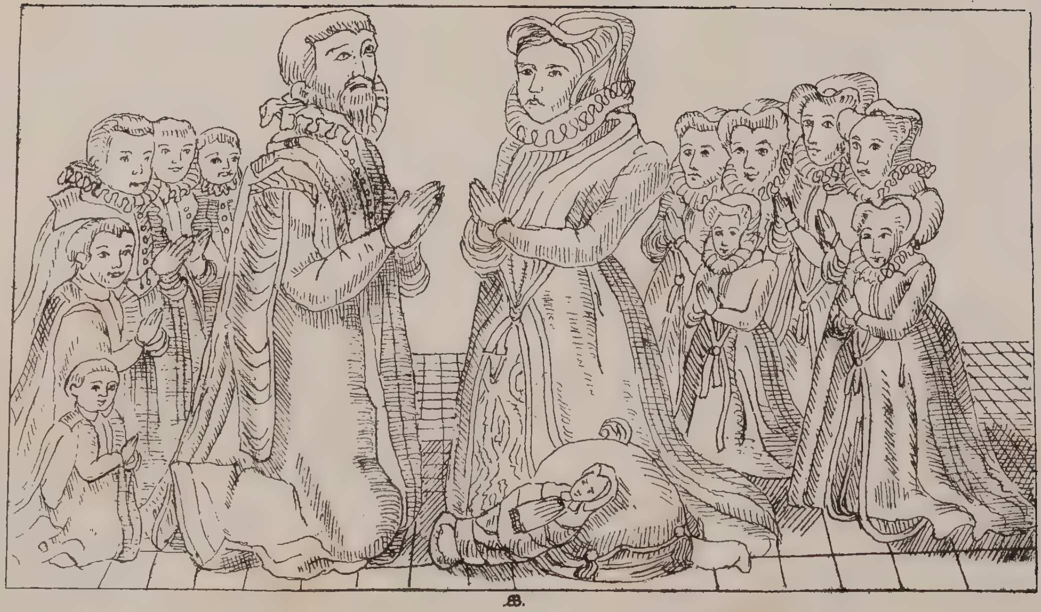
No encaustic tiles remain in the Church, and the monuments are of little interest, the oldest being a slab within the Altar-rails to—

EDM: KINGE
BVR: 14: IVL:
1577:

and a mural brass, on the south side of the Chancel, representing Philip King, with his wife and twelve children who departed this life A.D. 1592.

There are three bells in the Tower of the last and present centuries, one is broken and another cracked. The Parish Chest, of the seventeenth century, remains.

PLATE II.



The aged roote that twelve times frvite did beare
    (Thovgh first and last were blasted in their prime)
Is withered now, and warns his children deare,
    Thovgh yet they springe, to know their wint^{es} time.
So labovr'd he, and so is gone to rest,
    So liv'd, so died, as all (bvt cvrsed) blest.
Blesse, Lord, his fellow roote that lives as yet,
    Bvt as a vine without his proppe decaies:
And blesse their branches w^{ch} these two did get,
    And send them sap to novrish them alwaies:
Blesse roote and branch y^{t} all may grow in thee,
    And meet at length to eat of thy life tree.

Philippo Kinge generoso ab inev̂te ætate in ædib^{c} reverendi patris.
ac patrvi ipsivs Domini Roberti Kinge episcopi Oxōn & clarisissimi
viri Dom: Joanis Williams de Thame liberalissime edvcato: chariss:
coivgi, & ad an̄n̄v̄ pene quadrugesim̄v̄ ivgv̄ maritale vna perpesso,
vita ac morte cv̄ perhoneste tv religiosissime fvncto monvmētvm
istvd æterni & illibati amoris posvit Elizabetha Kinge vxor
svperstes Excessit ex hac vita, 12 Janvarii A^{o} dñi. 1592.

HISTORICAL NOTICES.

A.D. 1066. In the reign of Edward the Confessor this Manor was held under Edith, Queen Consort, by Eddeva wife of Wlnuard, who had the power of selling[1] it.

A.D. 1084, 18 Will. I. At this time "Wermelle" was held by the Bishop of Constance, and under him by Robert.[2]

A.D. 1100—35. After the forfeiture of the lands of the Bishop of Constance, this Estate is said to have been given by Henry I. to his natural son, Robert Mellent, who likewise held Great Marlow and other lands in Bucks; and this appropriation of it seems to be countenanced by the Manor being afterwards included in the Honor of Gloucester.[3]

A.D. 1159, 6 Hen. II. Pope Alexander III. confirmed to the Monastery of St. Frideswide in Oxford the Church of Wormenhall (ecclesiam de Wrmhala), by a Bull dated "Tusculani XIII. Kal Jun;" but the name of the donor is not mentioned.[4]

A.D. 1199, 1 John.[5] Sometime previous to this date, William Fitz-Elys, with the consent of his wife Emma, gave to the Church of St. Frideswide in Oxford and the Priors and Canons there serving God, the Church of Wormehalle, with all its appurtenances in wood and in plain, in meadows and in pastures, with the pence and tenths of the demesnes, and six acres of land, and two acres which Josceus (gave), with all their appurtenances, etc., upon condition of being received into their fraternity, and being buried in their Church.[6]

William Fitz-Elys also confirmed to the said Monastery one virgate of land and six acres (with consent of his wife Emma), which Otwell Lisle held and gave at the dedication of the Church of Wormenhall.[7] This donation was afterwards confirmed by his wife Emma—

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[1] Domesday Survey, f. 155.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Rev. Ed. Cooke's MSS., ap. Lipscombe's Bucks.

[4] Bp. Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, vol. i., p. 161.

[5] Rot. Cart. 1 John, No. 9, p. 23 b. A royal confirmation of the Church of Wormenhall to the Monastery of St. Frideswide, in Oxford.

[6] Wyrley's MS., Ash. Mus., ap. Lipscombe's Bucks.

[7] W. Wyrley's MS. Bp. Kennett, vol. i., p. 466.

called Emma de Peri—from her residence at the neighbouring village of Waterpery.[1]

She was the daughter of Fulk Luvel, from whom she inherited the Manors of Waterpery, Wormenhall, and Oakley, and was the grand-daughter of Lupellus de Brai.[2]

Other confirmations were afterwards granted by descendants of the Fitz-Elys' family, who retained the above-named possessions for above three hundred years.

A.D. 1272, 1 Edward I. In the Hundred Rolls is the following notice:—

"Dominus Thomas de Donniton de Villâ de Wrmehale habet placita de visu franciplegii. Et Dominus filius Helye in eodem modo in eadem villâ."

A.D. 1274, 3 Edward I. In this year took place the decease of Gervase, Perpetual Vicar of Wormenhall.[3]

The Vicarage had been ordained by the authority of a Council, shortly before the presentation of his predecessor, William de Estin, by the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswide, in the year of our Lord 1229.

A.D. 1296, 24 Edward I. Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, died, seised of fees in Wormenhall.[4]

A.D. 1315, 8 Edward II. The Manor of Wormenhall was held by John de la Rivere,[5] who obtained a charter for a weekly market on Thursday; and annually on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, June 29, a fair and free warren.[6]

A.D. 1341, 14 Edward III. Robert Fitz-Elys obtained a grant of free warren in Waterpery, Oxon; Wormenhall, and Okele, Bucks; and Nethercote, Wilts.[7]

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[1] In the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, at Waterpery, which was given to Oseney Abbey, in Oxford, by the same William Fitz-Elys and his wife Emma, is a stone effigy of Robert Fitz-Elys, a descendant of this family, who departed this life A.D. 1376, representing him in the "cuir boulli," or leathern armour, which prevailed in the time of Ed. III.; and there is also an obituary window, representing Robert Fitz-Elys (who deceased A.D. 1470) with his wife Margaret and only daughter Margeria.

[2] For a full account of the family of Fitz-Elys and their monuments in Waterpery Church, see "Guide to Architectural Antiquities," part iii. J. H. Parker, Oxford, 1845.

[3] So called in the Ledger Book of Knights' Templars, at Sandford. Wood's MSS., 10 f., 18 b.

[4] Inquis. post mortem, vol. i., p. 133.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Rot. Chart, 32 Ed. I. p. 135.

[7] Ibid., p. 175.

A.D. 1363, 37 Edward III. The Abbot of Abyngdon and others were seised of the Manor of Wormenhall with other lands in Oxfordshire, in right of the Warden and Scholars of Canterbury Hall.[1]

In the same reign, Sir William Tracey, Knt., had a writ of entry of two parts of the Manor of Wormenhall, with appurtenances.[2] These rights did not operate to the exclusion of the Fitz-Elys' family, although their interests were more or less affected by them.

A.D. 1470, 9 Edward IV. The Manors of Waterpery, Wormenhall, and Oakley, with possessions in Berks (Aldermaston, Englefield, and Reading) passed into the family of the Ingletons of Thornton, near Buckingham, by the marriage of Sibilla, sole heiress of Robert Fitz-Elys, Esqre., of Waterpery, to George Ingleton, Esqre.[3]

A.D. 1519, 10 Hen. VIII. Jane, sole heiress of Robert Ingleton, Esqre., was married to Humphrey Tyrell, Esqre., son of William Tyrell, Esqre., of South Ockingden, Essex, who accordingly had livery of the lands of his wife's inheritance, and took up his residence at Thornton, Bucks.

The Manor of Wormenhall, however, and other Fitz-Elys' possessions, were for some time held in dower by Sibilla, widow of George Ingleton, Esqre.[4]

From Sir George Tyrell, sole heir of Humphrey and Jane Tyrell, the estate passed to Thomas Typping, Esqre., of Shabbington; and in 1720 to Edward Rudge, Esqre., of Wheatfield, Oxon, who, about 1772, sold his estate in Wormenhall to Samuel Horne, Esqre., from which family it passed by purchase in A.D. 1827 to the Right Honourable Henry, Lord Clifden, Baron Mendip.

NOTICES OF THE KING FAMILY.

Of all the families formerly connected with Wormenhall that of King have most effectually perpetuated their memory by charitable bequests.

They do not appear to have held the manor or any considerable part of the property in the parish. The first of the family who settled at Wormenhall was William[1] King, of Devonshire, brother of Robert Kynge, the first Bishop of Oxford, and brother-in-law to John Lord Williams, of Thame, having married Anne, daughter of Sir John Williams, of Burfield.

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[1] Esch., 37 Ed. III.

[2] Rot. fin. Buck, 17 Ed. III., p. 64.

[3] Esch. in Tower of London, 9 Ed. IV.

[4] See "Guide to Architectural Antiquities," part iii., p. 260.

The issue of this marriage was Philip King, who, in his minority, was page to King Henry VIII., was educated with great care by his uncles, Robert, Bishop of Oxford, and John Lord Williams, of Thame, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Conquest, Esq., of Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire. He departed this life Jan. 12, A.D. 1592, and was buried at Wormenhall, where a brass remains on the south wall of the chancel, representing him with his wife and twelve children.

The most distinguished of these children was John King, who was born at Wormenhall about A.D. 1559, was educated in grammar learning at Westminster School, became student of Christchurch in 1576, was made Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, as he was afterwards to King James, and upon the 12th of August, 1590, was installed Archdeacon of Nottingham, being at that time a preacher in the City of York. Afterwards he was made Chaplain to Egerton, Lord Keeper, proceeded Doctor of Divinity in 1602; and, in 1605, was promoted to the Deanery of Christchurch by King James, who thus acceded to a petition signed by twenty-two of the students in the name of the rest, and describing Dr. John King as "one of the brightest lights of the English Church." He was afterwards for several years Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford; in 1611 he had the Bishopric of London bestowed upon him, being consecrated on the 8th of September. "At this time" (says Anthony à Wood[2]) he was had in great reverence by all people; he was a solid and profound divine, of great gravity and piety, and had so excellent a volubility of speech that Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, would often say of him, "that he was the best speaker of the Star Chamber in his time," and

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[1] Anthony à Wood calls him "Thomas."—"Athenæ Oxon."

[2] In the "Athenæ Oxonienses," written about A.D. 1660, whence these particulars of the King family are principally taken, with several additions from "Biographical Notices of Bishop Henry King," prefixed to his poems, edited by the Rev. J. Hannah, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.—1843. F. Macpherson.

King James commonly called him the "king of preachers." He paid his last debt to nature 30th March, A.D. 1621, and was buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in London. He earnestly requested that no other memorial might be set up for him than a plain tomb, with the single word, "Resurgam," inscribed upon it, which was accordingly done; but his zealous relations and admirers departed from the spirit of his last directions by hanging near the tomb a tablet with an inscription of more than a hundred lines of Latin verse, setting forth the orthodoxy of his doctrines, the virtues of his life, and the illustriousness of his descent.[1]

Henry King, the eldest son of Dr. John King, by Joan, his wife, daughter of Henry Freeman, of Staffordshire, was born in the same house and chamber at Wornal, Bucks, wherein his father had received his first breath, in the month of January, 1591, and was baptized there on the 16th of the same month. He was educated partly in grammar learning in the free school at Thame, in Oxfordshire, and partly in the college school at Westminster, where he was elected a student of Christchurch, in 1608. After taking his degree, he entered into Holy Orders and became a most florid preacher, and successively Chaplain-in-Ordinary to King James I. of pious memory, Archdeacon of Colchester, Residentiary of St. Paul's Cathedral, Canon of Christ's Church, and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to King Charles I., Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Rochester, in which dignity he was installed Feb. 6, 1638. In 1641 he was made Bishop of Chichester, upon which occasion he is mentioned by the Earl of Clarendon as a man "of great eminency in the Church, peculiarly free from those faults ascribed to the governing clergy, a frequent preacher, and one against whom not the least objection could be made."[2]

However great a favourite he may have been beforehand with all parties, the following notice of him in an account of the siege of Chichester, in 1642, shows how much he fell in the estimation of the Puritans on being raised to the Episcopal Bench:—"Dr. King, also, then Bishop of Chichester (a proud prelate, as all the rest are, and a most pragmatical malignant against the Parliament, as all his catercapt companions also are) was there also taken prisoner."[1]

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[1] See the Inscription at length in Dugdale's "History of St. Paul's Cathedral." See also in Stowe's "London."

[2] Clarendon's "History of the Great Rebellion."

Another writer, of opposite sentiments to the one last quoted, informs us that, during the disastrous siege of Chichester by Sir William Waller, the cathedral was dilapidated, the palace and goods of Dr. King ransacked and destroyed, and his person treated with cruel indignity by the fanatical soldiery.[2] After being restored to his Bishopric in 1660 he departed this life 30th Sept. 1669, leaving behind him the character of one who was the epitome of all honours and virtues, and generous nobleness, and a person never to be forgotten by his tenants and by the poor.[3] His will, which was proved 16th November, 1669, contains the following passage:—"Item. I give to the poore of Wornhalt, in Buckinghamshire—where myself and my father before me were borne, the somme of one hundred pounds, wherewith my will is that land be purchased, the yearly revenues whereof to be added to that which my father and my uncle, Philip King, gave to buy bread every Sunday, distributed to six poore people of that parish, and also some money with large loaves every Good Fryday, according as my executors shall find the rent to allow."[4]

John King, Esq., of Boycote, Kent, the eldest son of Henry King, Bishop of Chichester, was matriculated at Christchurch, Oxford, on the 16th of December, A.D. 1637. He afterwards married Anne Hannah Russell, daughter of Sir William Russell, of Strensham, Worcestershire. He died the 10th of March, A.D. 1671, and was buried near his father in Chichester Cathedral. His will, dated 20th and 24th of May, A.D. 1670, and proved on the 5th of April in the following year, provides that the rents of his lands in Kent should be left untouched for four years, and the income to be thus applied:—£1500 to build an

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[1] Vicar's "Jehovah-Jireh,or English Parliamentary Chronicle," pages 234-240. Also see note 7 in Memoranda.

[2] Dallaway's "History of Sussex," from Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy."

[3] "Athenæ Oxon."

[4] "Biographical Notices of Bishop Henry King," prefixed to his poems; edited by Rev. J. Hannah, Oxford, 1843. F. Macpherson, page cxiii.

Almshouse either at "Wormhalt or Ulcombe" (but he prefers the former) "to sustaine six poore old men and foure old women, with gownes of 20*s.* a-piece once in two yeares, with (his) armes and quarters on their sleeve." The rental of the fourth year to be laid out to supply a fund for repairs, etc.[1] The Almshouses built at Wormenhall in consequence of this charitable bequest have the following inscription over each entrance, surmounted by the arms of King,[2] impaling those of Russell :—

TO GOD AND THE POORE.
JOHN KING, ESQ., SONN OF HENRY
KING, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, AND
GRANDSONN OF JOHN KING,
LATE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,
AND ANNE HIS WIFE, DAUGHTER OF
SIR WILL. RUSSELL, OF STRENSU,
BARONET, DEDICATES THIS
FOUNDATION
FOR SIX POORE SINGLE MEN
AND FOWER WOMEN
ANNO DNI.
1675.

To these six poor single men and four women, according to village tradition, seats were appropriated in the chancel of Worminghall Church, against the north wall of which is still hung an oaken tablet (Pl. 4, Fig. 1), having carved upon it the arms of the above-named Bishop, John King, impaled with those of the see of London.

The Almshouse is built in the shape of the letter H, in memory of Bishop Henry King, father of the pious founder.

At Christchurch College, Oxford, are some interesting memorials of the King family.

In the south aisle of the Cathedral is a plain monument of Dr. Robert King, last Abbot of Oseney and first Bishop of Oxford, removed from the choir, with the fol-

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[1] Register of Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 48, Duke, quoted by Rev J. Hannah.

[2] The arms here represented, Pl. 4, Fig. 2, are taken from a window in Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford.

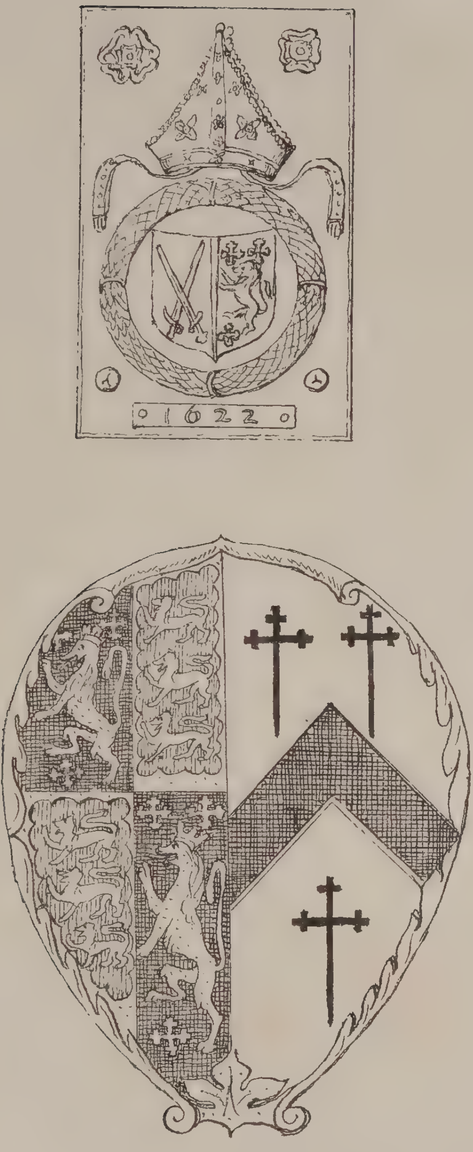

PLATE IV.

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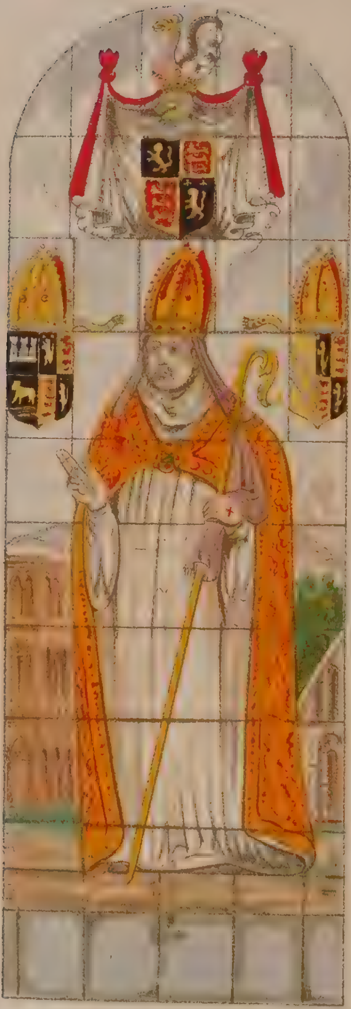

lowing inscription:—"Hic jacet Robertus Kyng sacre theologie professor et primus Epus Oxon qui obiit quarto die decembris anno Domini MDLVII." When this monument was removed to its present place, a painted window was placed over it by Henry and John King, Canons of Christchurch, containing a representation of Bishop Robert King in his full episcopal robes, with the ruins of Oseney Abbey in the background. In this window, which was taken down by a member of the family, and preserved from destruction during the great rebellion, are, above the figure, the arms of King, sable, a lion rampant ducally crowned between three cross crosslets or. Quartering: gules, three lions passant argent, within a border, engrailed or. On the right of the bishop are these same arms impaled with those which are still borne by the Bishops of Oxford; and on the left the same coat of King, with one quartering, is impaled with or, two bendlets azure; the arms of Oseney Abbey, or rather of D'Oyly, the founder, whose arms were usually borne by the Abbey, reversed in colour, viz.: azure, two bendlets or.[1] In the hall of Christchurch are portraits of John King, Bishop of London, and Henry King, Bishop of Chichester.

RESTORATION OF WORMINGHALL CHURCH.

BY THE REV. JAMES STATTER, VICAR.

As may be seen from the foregoing account, the Parish Church of the Manor having, in lapse of time, and from centuries of neglect and religious indifference, fallen into a sad condition of ruin and dilapidation, at a meeting of the ratepayers, convened by the Vicar, and held in the church, August 6, 1846, R. Groom, Esq., being present as the representative of the late Viscount Clifden, Lord of the Manor, it was unanimously resolved that the said church needed a thorough reparation, and that as Lord Clifden had offered a considerable sum towards defraying the expense of the undertaking, the work of restoration should be commenced with as little delay as possible.

Plans of the required repairs were presented at this and subsequent meetings by Joseph Clarke, Esq., architect, of London, and a contractor having been engaged to carry them out, the work was forthwith entered on.

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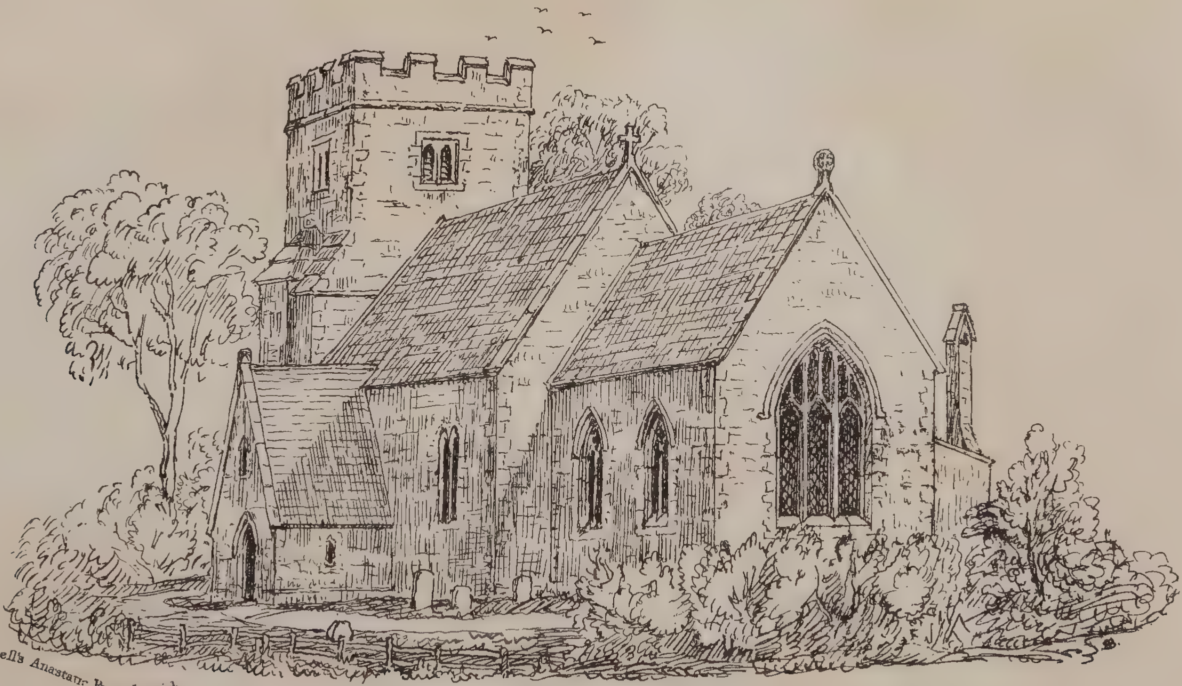
[1] See Bishop Tanner's "Notitia Monastica."

Externally, the walls were repaired; the whole north wall and a considerable portion of the south wall were taken down and rebuilt; a new vestry was added on the north side of the chancel, and the old wooden porch on the south side of the nave replaced by a neat stone building. Internally, the plaster ceilings of the nave and chancel were removed—a new roof of stained deal placed over the former, and the roof of the latter well restored.

The tower at the west end, besides undergoing a thorough repair inside and out, has been supplied with a peal of three bells and a Sanctus bell, partly made by recasting three former ones which were either cracked or broken. The unsightly gallery at the west end of the nave has been taken down, and the three-light west window brought into view. The high-backed deal pews are now replaced by open oak benches, after the pattern of some old ones which were still remaining. The chancel is raised above the nave by two steps, and a rood-beam supporting a wooden cross placed under the chancel arch. In the chancel itself oak stalls on either side occupy the place of two large pews. The altar space is considerably elevated, and the floor paved with encaustic tiles of a plain pattern; the former communion-table being replaced by an altar of oak, with a super-altar against the east wall. The east window of three lights is filled with painted glass—a figure of our Lord occupying the centre, and two kneeling figures of SS. Peter and Paul filling the side lights. A memorial medallion-window of good design has, since the restoration, been placed in the window on the south side of the chancel nearest the altar. A Piscina, found on the south, and Aumbry on the north, have been opened up, and a plain oak credence table stands at the south end of the altar.

Besides these extensive repairs and additions since the first restoration, an elegant corona now hangs from the chancel roof, and brackets for lights are placed on either side of the walls of the nave. A good lectern is placed below the chancel steps, and a substantial carved pulpit is erected against the chancel arch on the north, entered by an opening from the vestry. The prayer-desk



Cowell's Anastatic Press, Ipswich.

CHURCH OF S.S. PETER AND PAUL WORMENHALL.

PLATE III

has also been removed from its former position in the nave, and now occupies the south corner of the chancel.

The whole cost of the restoration, which, owing to unforeseen circumstances, far exceeded the first estimate, amounted to £1200. To this the late Viscount Clifden, lay impropriator of the cure, contributed £500, advancing also £200 on loan, without interest. The rest of the expense was raised by public subscription, and a voluntary church-rate of 6d. per £1, extending over several years. The whole remaining debt has now been paid off, and a neat, plain, but not inelegant structure, affords an example of what all small country parish churches should be.

ST. MARY'S, AYLESBURY.—NEW STAINED GLASS WINDOWS, ETC.

At Christmas, 1870, there was placed in the west window of the north chapel of Aylesbury Church some painted glass, which equals if it does not surpass in beauty some of the most elegant works of art in this kind with which this Church is now adorned. The window is the gift of Mr. Thomas Perrin, a native of Aylesbury, who lived here as a boy, and who, having been successful in life, resolved to testify his regard for his birthplace, and his affection for the Church in which he worshipped in his youth, by this very handsome contribution to its decorative features. Mr. Perrin having made known his kind intentions to the Archdeacon, left the choice of the subject and the artist entirely in his hands. The Archdeacon gave the commission to Messrs. Burlison and Grylls, of Newman Street, Oxford Street, London. The subject selected is "Our Lord's first Miracle in Cana of Galilee," and it occupies the three lights of which the window is composed, each light being surmounted by a canopy. The central light exhibits our Blessed Lord in the foreground in the act of directing the servants, with the bride and bridegroom in the background. In the other lights are represented—on the left, a servant filling the waterpots; and on the right, the Mother of our Lord, and the ruler of the feast near to her, who is about to taste the wine thus miraculously supplied. Beneath, and running across the picture, are the well-known lines of St. Ambrose on the Festival of the Epiphany:—

> "Novum genus potentiæ,
> Aquæ rubescunt hydriæ;
> Vinumque jussa fundere
> Mutavit unda originem.
> Jesu, tibi sit gloria,
> Qui apparuisti gentibus."

At the foot of the central light a chalice is introduced, with a scroll surrounding it, on which are the words—

> "Bibite ex hoc omnes."

Both the drawing and the execution of this window are admirable. In its general tone it leaves nothing to desire. The window is of the early Perpendicular period, and the colouring of the glass which characterizes the fifteenth century has been so faithfully imitated, that, were it not for its freshness and cleanness, it might easily be mistaken for an old window. Mr. Perrin deserves the gratitude of all the admirers of Aylesbury Church for this valuable addition to the ornaments of the building.

On a brass plate at the base of the window, is the following inscription:—

> "In honorem Dei, nec sine animo memori in Ecclesiam S. Mariæ in Aylesbury, has tabulas figendas curavit Thomas Perrin, qui hic natus, necnon ineunte ætate hic quondam commoratus est.
>
> A.S. MDCCCLXX."

In June, 1871, this Church was enriched with another very beautiful stained glass window, placed in the south chapel by Mr. and Mrs. James Ceely, to the memory of their only son, the late Mr. Arthur James Ceely. The window is the work of Messrs. O'Connor, of Berners Street, London, the same artists who were employed to execute the Tindal window at the west end of the Church. The new window is well worthy of the artists. It represents the miracle of the healing of the centurion's servant, as recorded in St. Matthew and St. Luke. There are six subjects, two in each of the three lights of which the window consists, representing (1), the centurion dedicating the synagogue; (2), the centurion in command; (3), the centurion watching over his sick servant: these three form the upper pictures of the three lights. And below, (4), the messengers coming to Christ; (5), our Lord healing the servant by His word; (6), the servant healed, and the centurion in adoration. Underneath the subjects are the following legends:—

"Synagogam Ipse ædificavit nobis. Domine, noli vexari. Dic verbo, et sanabitur puer meus. Nec in Israhel tantam fidem inveni."

The whole is treated in a masterly way, more especially the lower groupings, and the figure of our Lord Himself, which stands out in great majesty and beauty. The donors of this beautiful window have no doubt gratified their own feelings by this tribute of affection for their son; but they have also established a claim to the gratitude of all those to whom Aylesbury Church is dear, by this noble contribution to its decorative features. On a brass plate, at the base of the window, is the following inscription:—

"To the glory of God and the dear memory of Arthur James Ceely, of the 42nd Royal Regiment (the Black Watch), only son of James Henry and Elizabeth Parker Ceely. He died on shipboard, on his homeward passage from India, December 29th, 1866, aged 32 years, and was buried at Point de Galle, Ceylon."

Mr. G. G. Scott, the architect, has kindly given two small statues to fill the niches on either side of the perpendicular doorway leading into the south transept of this Church. The figures were carved by the well-known sculptors, Messrs. Farmer and Brindley, of Westminster-road; and they are intended to represent St. Peter and St. James, the patron saints respectively of Quarendon and Bierton. These Churches, together with Stoke Mandeville and Buckland, were in ancient times chapels of ease to Aylesbury; but in the 13th century they were detached from Aylesbury, and ordained a separate Vicarage, under Bierton as the mother Church. In recent times, a further subdivision has taken place, Stoke Mandeville with Buckland having been separated from Bierton in 1858, and constituted another independent Incumbency.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS IN THE CHURCHES OF HOLY TRINITY, WOLVERTON, AND ALL SAINTS, CALVERTON.

The Chancel of the former Church, which is of the quasi Norman type, built at the commencement of the century, has been entirely decorated in polychrome. The west side of the Chancel-arch is enriched with two circular medallions, containing dignified figures of angels with outstretched wings: that on the north side, carrying the cross and crown of thorns in one hand, and the sacramental emblems of the chalice with wheat-ears rising from it in the other; the angel on the south side bears the palm-branch of victory, and the crown of glory. The space above the east window (which is of the "rose" type) is occupied by a painting on the plaster, representing "The Worship of the Lamb." This subject is treated in a manner resembling in some respects the celebrated painting by Van Eyck. The Lamb slain, but living for evermore, stands upon the heavenly altar, blood issuing from the neck, and bearing the flag of the resurrection—a rainbow dividing the circle in which it is enclosed—and greatly enhancing the general effect. Below and around the Lamb are the company of angels; some in silent contemplation of the Beatific Vision, and many holding the emblems of our Lord's Passion. The draperies, features, forms, and even the nimbi, are very dissimilar, but in beautiful harmony (as all flat decorations should be) with the space at the artist's disposal. All the figure-drawing, both in this Church and at Calverton, was executed by Mr. Bell (of the firm of Bell and Almond) with his own hand; the diapers and other wall decoration being designed by him, and executed under his direction. The effect of these wall-paintings is especially pleasing, both on account of the very happy harmony of refined colouring, and still more because the artist, while showing a thorough knowledge of mediæval precedent, has kept his work as free from stiffness or contortion on the one hand, as from partaking of a monumental character on the other. The drawing is free and bold, without being naturalesque, and the colouring rich and harmonious, and at the same time cool and refined. The altar has been enlarged to suitable dimensions, and a reredos of English oak (designed by J. Swinfin Harris, Esq., of Stony Stratford, and London) erected over it. This is divided by cusped arches into three compartments, with shafted pinnacles flanking the whole on either side. The central arch contains a panel enriched with angels censing and adoring around the cross, which is of polished brass, raised upon a base of wood. The two side arches contain a representation of the Annunciation, St. Gabriel occupying the north panel, and the Blessed Virgin the south. These paintings are executed on slabs of very old mahogany on a ground of gold, which has been toned with a luminous brown colour, in the manner of ancient work, and diapered down with appropriate patterns.

At All Saints, Calverton, the work partakes of a somewhat different character. The Chancel has been decorated with polychrome, so far as the two surfaces of the arch, splays and shafts, etc., to the windows, are concerned; but the main walls had been previously made ornate by the use of stamped plaster. The western face of the arch has powderings of an appropriate character, interspersed with shields containing emblems of the passion within quatrefoils. The arch, leading to the vestry and organ chamber, have likewise been effectively decorated. The old East Window, which had a female of secular character—probably representing "Prudence," or one of the Virtues—together with two figures of SS. Peter and Paul, has been removed. In place of these, a medallion of the Crucifixion now occupies the central position, flanked on either side by the Entombment and Resurrection; the remainder of the window being filled with quarry grounds, of simple and appropriate character, interspersed with six medallions at intervals, representing Our Lord, St. Mary the Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, St. Stephen, St. Peter, and St. Paul. A new sill of decorated character has also been added to the window, with a bold cornice, having a reredos inserted beneath of Italian glass mosaic work, representing the "Adoration of the Magi." On the right of the picture are represented the Blessed Virgin, having the Holy Child on her knee; St. Joseph in the background; and a kneeling figure of St. Anne. To the left are the "Three Kings," holding their various offerings; while the Altar Cross comes in the midst, well relieved by the deep tones of the conventional herbage of the foreground, and enhanced by the lily and other accessories breaking the dado behind it. The figures, though quaint, may all be described by the term "religious." The pulpit panels have been decorated with sitting figures of four great preachers—St. John the Baptist, St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Barnabas—painted on a gold ground. The cornice and other architectural members have also been relieved with bands and diapers, in gold and colour. A septum wall has been formed out of the old altar-rails on a base of Mansfield stone, and a new oak rail has been provided in their place mounted on standards, made by the village smith from the designs of Mr. Harris, the architect, who is responsible for the whole of the work at both churches. The west door, which had been for some years built up, has been re-opened, and the Font is now placed at the extreme west end of the nave, where the tower forms a suitable Baptistry.

CHAPEL OF EASE AT HOLLY BUSH HILL.

On Sunday, August 21st, 1870, this chapel, in the parish of Stoke Poges, was re-opened, after enlargement and complete restoration. Special interest is attached to this good work, from the fact that the chapel was originally built for and used by Dissenters; but some little while before the death of the late Vicar, the Rev. John Shaw, it was found to be unnecessary, owing to his zealous and energetic ministry, so that the owners offered it to him for purchase. By the ready assistance of some of his chief parishioners, it was forthwith bought and licensed, and used for service, in its original and unaltered state. Soon after the present Vicar succeeded to the living, the building was considerably enlarged, the pews removed, and open seats substituted. A chancel, with triple lancet window, has since been added; a new open roof has been raised on the old walls; a west window inserted; an entrance-porch built; and a bell-turret erected; while the whole interior has been so successfully and entirely changed, that no one could trace in the present appearance any vestige of the original chapel.

DINTON HALL AND CHURCH.

BY THE REV. C. LOWNDES, M.A., F.R.A.S.

The road from Aylesbury to Thame passes through the parish of Dinton, and within a short distance of the Hall and Church. There are few manorial residences in the county of Buckingham that can have a greater claim on our admiration and interest than that of Dinton Hall. The memorials of such country houses are seldom so rich in incident as to make their history very attractive to the general reader; but as there are many of an interesting character relating to this Hall which have never appeared in the County Histories, I trust I may be excused for offering them to your notice, and for making this humble contribution towards promoting the object of our Society.

The parish of Dinton, with a population of 817, contains 4100 acres, and is 17 miles in circumference. It is on the Oolite formation, of excellent quality for building purposes, but has a great variety of soils—rich loam, a small quantity of grit and gravel, and an abundance of red and white sand which overlie the Purbeck and Portland beds. In many parts of the parish, between the surface and the rock, is a deposit of friable lime, varying from one to several feet in thickness, generally known as wych-earth, but commonly called "Dinton marble." When puddled with water and chopped straw, it is used for the walls of cottages and outhouses. It is in its nature very enduring, affording warmth in winter and coolness in summer. Dinton Vicarage is built of it. This picturesque house was erected for the Rev. John Harrison, M.A., J.P., Rural Dean, and for 33 years Vicar of Dinton. Sir G. Gilbert Scott was the Architect, and he mentions it in his "Secular and Domestic Architecture," page 140. The popular Author of "Recreations of a Country Parson," alludes also to Dinton Vicarage in the following terms:—"The material *mud* is one's ideal of the very shabbiest material for building which is within human reach. *Hovel* is the word that naturally goes with *mud*. Yet Mr. Scott once built a large parsonage, which cost between two and three thousand pounds, of mud thatched with reeds. Warmth was the end in view. I have no doubt the parsonage proved a most picturesque and quaint affair; and if I could find out where it is, I would go some distance to see it."—First Series of "Recreations of a Country Parson," page 192.

The manor of *Danitone* (Dinton), and also that of *Wadruge* (Walridge), were at the time of the Norman Survey in the possession of Odo, Bishop of Baieux, to whom his brother, the Conqueror, had given them, with other estates of Avelin, a thane or knight of King Edward's. They were held by Helto, who was probably a native Saxon left undisturbed as tenant. Dinton (which was the principal manor) had a mill of four shillings value, and contained the homage of the reputed manors of Westlington and Ford.

Domesday Book also records that the adjoining manor of *Opetone* (Upton), a village of Earl Harold's, answered for 18 hides. It had a mill of four shillings, a fishery for a thousand eels, and pannage for two hundred hogs. It was divided into Nether and Upper Upton. One was apportioned to William Peveril, the other to Miles Crispin. The small manor of Blomer was intermixed with Upton. The two other manors were Aston Mollins and Moreton.

According to the detailed account given by Lipscombe, Dinton passed through the families of Warine de Monte Chansey (or Monchensi), William de Valence, Sir John Devèreux, Walter Fitzwalter, Whityngham, Montgomery, Verney, and Mayne. Simon Mayne resided in Dinton Hall 1606;* and on his death, July 13th, 1617, his son Simon succeeded to the estates. This Simon Mayne, having declared himself a Republican, was returned at Aylesbury a member in the Long Parliament, was appointed one of the Judges of their Commission Court, and sat in the Painted Chamber at Westminster on the trial of the King, nine days out of the thirteen that the trial lasted, and in Westminster Hall every day excepting January the 22nd. He was one of those who signed the warrant for the execution of his Sovereign, and affixed his seal. During the Protectorate he continued to be one of the Committee for Bucks. On the restoration of Charles II. he concealed himself at Dinton Hall. His hiding-place was necessarily destroyed in 1857 when the Hall was repaired. The entrance to it was by a singular contrivance; the four bottom stairs of a flight leading to a small attic were raised by means of hinges, and underneath was an inclined plane, which led to a small room between two stacks of chimneys. Before its destruction there were the remains of tapestry and old carpets littering the place, probably used for deadening the sound. Mayne lay in concealment here until, in compliance with the proclamation which was issued, he surrendered himself to the authorities, and was committed to the Tower. Being excepted by name, he was tried with Waller and other regicides at the Old Bailey, October 16th, 1660.* He was found guilty, and received sentence accordingly. He was confined in the Tower, and dying the following year, was buried at Dinton, April 18th, 1661, being 49 years of age. It is somewhat singular that two of the Judges of King Charles I. resided in the parish of Dinton: Simon Mayne at the Hall, and Sir Richard Ingoldsby at Walridge. This latter Judge having affirmed that he was *forcibly made* to sign the warrant for the execution of his sovereign, and being amongst the first to join the friends of the exiled king, received a free pardon, and was created a K.B. previous to the coronation.

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* Willis's MSS., and Parochial Register of Dinton.

In 1727, Simon Mayne, a descendant of the regicide, having succeeded to this manor on the decease of his father about two years before, sold all his estates at Dinton, Westlington, and Ford to John Vanhattem, Esq., a gentleman of Dutch extraction, whose ancestor, Liebert Vanhattem, was a naval officer in the fleet of the renowned Admiral de Ruyter, and came into England at the Revolution with William Prince of Orange. He held this manor until his death, in 1747, and left issue one son and two daughters. John Vanhattem, Esq., the son, was

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* Lipscomb's History, part 3, page 139.

High Sheriff of the county in 1760; and on the presentation of an address of congratulation to King George the Third on his accession to the throne, received the honour of knighthood, January 23rd, 1761. On his death, December 4th, 1787, the manor and estates became vested in the Rev. William Goodall, Rector of Mearsham, county Norfolk, who married, at Great Berkhampstead, Rebecca, only daughter of Sir John Vanhattem. Their eldest surviving son, the Rev. John Joseph Goodall, is the present possessor.

The County Historians do not give any derivation of the name Dinton. The termination *ton* is undoubtedly derived from the Anglo-Saxon *tun*, a town. *Tun* originally meant "a plot of ground fenced round, or inclosed by a hedge." It afterwards meant "a dwelling with the inclosed land," and finally a village or town. The prefix *din* is probably from the Celtic *din*, or Saxon *dun*, a hill, or fortified place. Dinton, therefore, may be regarded as having been an Anglo-Saxon town on a hill. This suggestion is borne out by the fact of the discovery of several Anglo-Saxon remains, not only at Dinton, but in the neighbourhood. The site of the modern building called the castle, which was built in 1769 by Sir J. Vanhattem, is considered by J. Y. Akerman, Esq., late Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, to have been the burial-ground of an Anglo-Saxon chief and his dependants. When the foundations were excavated, several skeletons and Anglo-Saxon remains were discovered. Among the latter* were the iron head of a spear, a knife and a vessel of thin green glass (see plate, which is two-thirds the size of the original), similar in form to the drinking-vessels used in Germany and the northern parts of Europe at the present day. The more ancient cups were made of the horns of animals, and the conical form might remain in use long after glass had been substituted in the stead of horn.†

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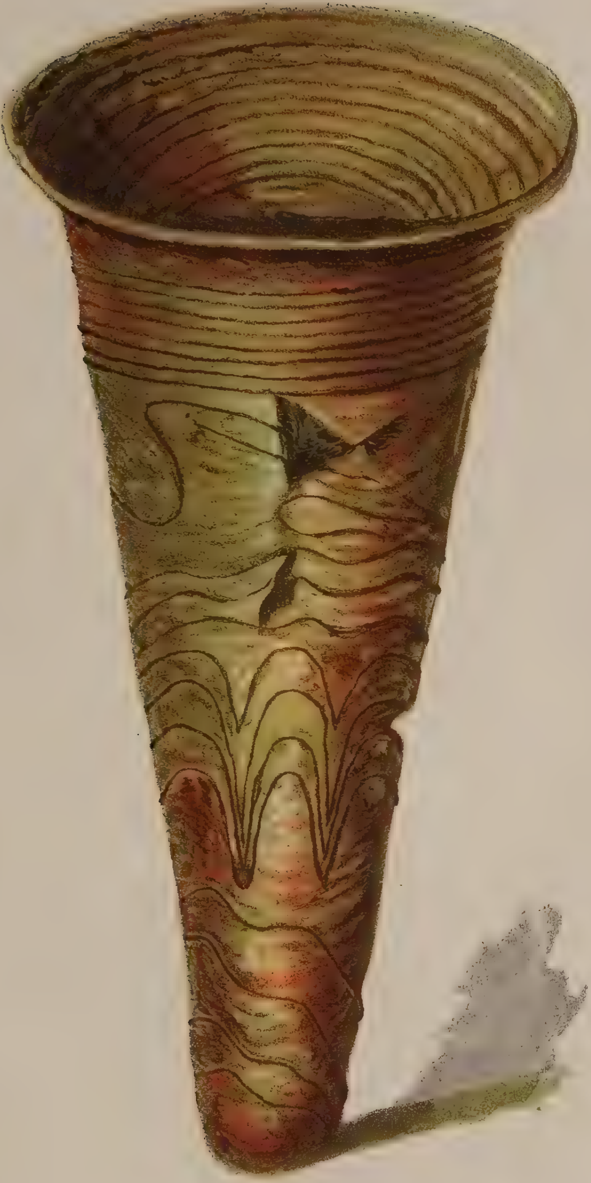
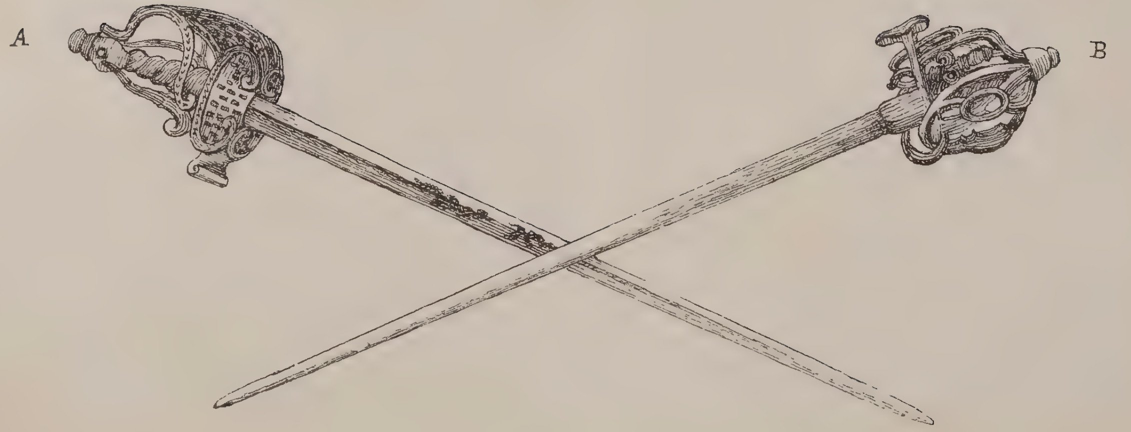
* See Douglas's "Nenia Britannica," and "Records of Buckinghamshire," vol. ii., p. 137.

† In the year 1858, the Rev. J. J. Goodall, assisted by Mr. Akerman, explored the ground immediately round the castle, and discovered several bodies about three feet from the surface, and a bronze spear-head broken in half, but in fine preservation. Their opinion that the Castle Hill is an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, was fully confirmed.





A. Sword used by Oliver Cromwell at the Siege of Drogheda.
B. Sword used by Oliver Cromwell at Naseby.

Among the *vestigia* still preserved at the Hall is a cut-and-thrust sword called Old Noll's Naseby sword.* The Rev. J. J. Goodall, in a letter to Admiral Smyth, printed in his "Addenda to the Ædes Hartwellianæ," page 246, gives the following account of it :—

> "It is an heir-loom to Dinton Hall for ever, and passes from one owner of the Hall to another, simply as such, without regard to a particular family. In this light my father constantly spoke of it with unswerving confidence. . . . I have heard my father more than once say, that when he first knew it, it was in a corroded state, but carefully kept in a green silk cover, with a baize cap for the hilt. Attached to it was a long slip of vellum, the closely-written legend on which was beyond deciphering from damp, rust, and much handling; but, whatever it may have been, it ought certainly to have been preserved.
>
> "You are aware that Simon Mayne and Dick Ingoldsby were natives and residents in the parish of Dinton. It is recorded of Mayne, then the Lord of the Manor, that, besides being a regicide, he was greater as a Committee Man, in which office he contrived to 'lick his fingers' to good purpose. Cromwell slept at the Hall occasionally during the siege of Oxford. Putting these circumstances together, there seems at least great probability of intimacy and a bond of mutual usefulness between the said Simon Mayne and the Lord Protector, which might conduce to giving tokens of regard for each other."

This account refutes the statement made in "Murray's Handbook of Buckinghamshire," that "the estate is held by tenure of Cromwell's sword, the same which he used at Naseby."

In the accompanying plate is a drawing (B) of Cromwell's Naseby sword. The one marked A is an illustration of a basket-hilted cut-and-thrust sword used by Oliver Cromwell at the siege of Drogheda, September 10, 1649. The blade bears the marks of two musquet-balls. This sword was inherited by Joshua S. Simmons Smith, Esq., a collateral descendant of the Protector, and was presented by him to the United Service Institution. Admiral Smyth also mentions and has illustrated another of Cromwell's trusty swords, which he used at the battle of Marston Moor, and which is now preserved at Chequers Court.

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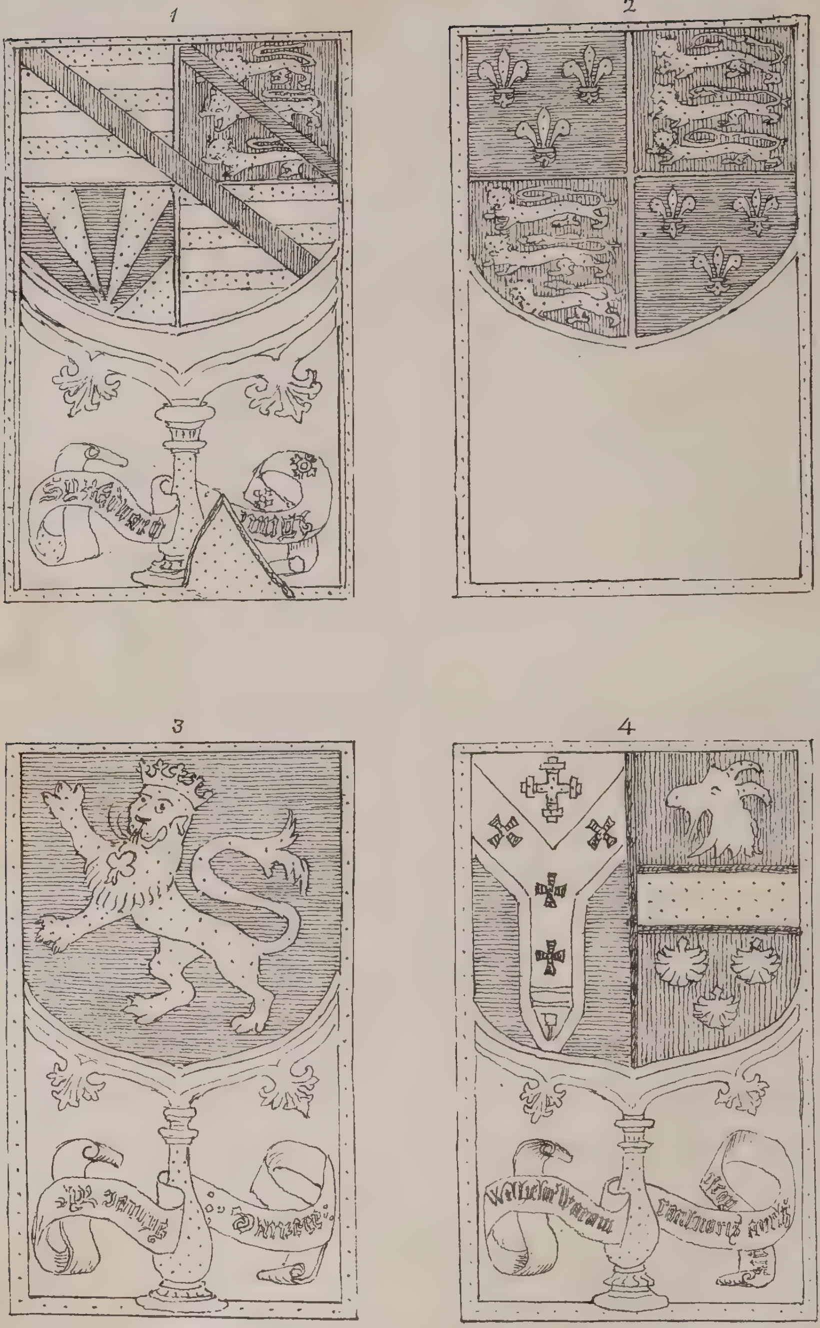
* Mr. Wilkinson, an eminent sword-cutler in Pall Mall, London, in whose hands the sword was deposited during the restoration of the Hall, pronounced the weapon to be of first-rate quality, and drew attention to the fact, that "*Andrea Farrara*" engraved his name in full-length on both sides of the blade. He considered this worthy of remark, for it might lead to the inference that the expert Andrea looked upon this particular weapon as his *chef. d'œuvre.*

There are also preserved at the Hall several spear and arrow-heads, swords, helmets and breast-plates, and three brass models of ancient guns. Also an ancient black bottle with a portrait of Edward III., and the royal arms on the other side. Also an ornamental spear-head, discovered during the restoration of the Hall in the year 1857. It is perforated in a fancy pattern, apparently of highly-polished steel, but much corroded. It was clearly not intended for deadly purposes, but more suited for the finish of a pennon, or something of that sort. Also many shoes from Henry VIII.'s time downwards. Some of them were in pattens or clogs; and these were evidently, in each case, stowed away in concealed places, as under hearthstones or cavities in the wall. There were about two dozen of them discovered; but in no instance a pair of shoes or a pair of pattens. Most of them met with a disastrous end, so that there are only three preserved at the Hall.

Dinton Hall is picturesquely situated near the Church, having an extensive view of the Chiltern Hills, and is surrounded by a garden second to none in the County, filled with a very choice collection of botanical flowers, and affording a pleasant sight to garden-lovers for all seasons of the year, and varying with every day of the year. It exhibits several phases of domestic architecture, having undergone many alterations and additions. The west end, with its substantially-built walls, bears evident marks of an edifice of very ancient date; while the north front, with its mullioned windows, gable ends, noble chimney shafts with a series of oversailing courses worked round the tops, and small cloisters leading to the Church, sufficiently indicate the date of its erection about the time of James. This front opened into a small court, now converted into a garden, and the entrance to the Hall is by a descent of several steps. The south front is more modern.

In feudal times every advantage was taken of displaying in stained or painted glass the heraldic insignia of the family of the founder and his connections. But here we have in the apparently original glass in the windows in the north front, coats of arms of several persons who were not, in any way that we are aware of, connected with Dinton. William of Waram was the immediate



Stained glaſs in the windows of the North front of Dinton Hall.

B

predecessor of Cranmer, and his initial W and coat of arms (Fig. 4), quartered with those of the see of Canterbury, occur in several compartments of the windows. The other part being filled with small quarries, having paintings in or of different birds in a great variety of positions, and other figures. It would seem he was accounted a man of great parts by our politic King Henry VII., for he was appointed ambassador by him to the Court of the Duchess of Burgundy, at that time a very powerful potentate, to endeavour to deter her from favouring the pretensions of Peter Warbeck, and if possible obtain the person of that pretender to the English throne. This Waram could not induce her to do, but his influence was such that work was found for the Burgundian Knights elsewhere, and after various delays only one or two small ships of the large fleet, collecting along the coasts of Flanders and Austrian Netherland which then was subject to Burgundy, and preparing for a descent upon England in his favour, left her ports. The King was so well satisfied with his agent's capacity and efforts, that in token of his approval he rewarded him, not from his own money-chests, of which he was avariciously fond, but by making him Lord High Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Dinton Album contains a statistical account of Dinton from the MSS. of Browne Willis and other sources, with paintings of many objects of natural history, and other memorabilia. It was commenced in the year 1772 by Sir John Vanhattem, and the paintings were done for him by Mr. Britten, an architect, those in the time of the Rev. William Goodall were painted by himself.

In it is an account of a celebrated character, John Bigg, the hermit, and also of his shoe; of which the following is a transcript:—

"Out of a letter wrote to me by Mr. Tho: Hearne, Keeper of the Anatomy School, and Sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library. Dated Feb. 12, 1712—13. Oxon.

"Mr. Prince told me you wanted some acc^{t}. of the Buckinghamshire shoe in our Bodleian Repository. You have seen it more than once, and heard the acc^{t}. of it. However, for better satisfaction, I shall repeat the story, viz., that the shoe is vastly large, made up of about a thousand patches of leather. It belong'd to John Bigg, who was clerk to Simon Mayne, of Dinton, one of the Judges that gave sentence on K.

Charles first. He liv'd at Dinton, in a cave underground, had been a man of tolerable wealth, was look'd upon as a pretty good scholar, and of no contemptible parts. Upon the Restoration he grew melancholy, betook himself to a recluse life; made all other cloths in the same manner as the shoe, lived by begging, but never ask'd for anything but leather (which he would immediately nail to his clothes), yet kept three bottles that hung to his girdle, viz., one for strong beer, another for small beer, and a 3rd for milk, which liquors us'd to be given, and sometimes brought to him, as was his other sustenance, notwithstanding he never ask'd for them.

"I have heard several acc^ts^ of this man, from those who well knew him; some persons in the neighbourhood of Dinton have his picture drawn. He put off all his cloths at once, they being all fastened together, and so in like manner put them on. He was by relation very lewd, if he could entice women into his cave. (Mr. Grubb, of Horsington, tells me now that he well remembers him, and Sir Thomas Lee, of Hartwell, told me he had often been frighted by him when he was a little boy). In the summer time he dwelt some months in Kimbell woods, as I have been told. He was buried at Dinton, as I saw in that church register, Ap: 4, 1696.

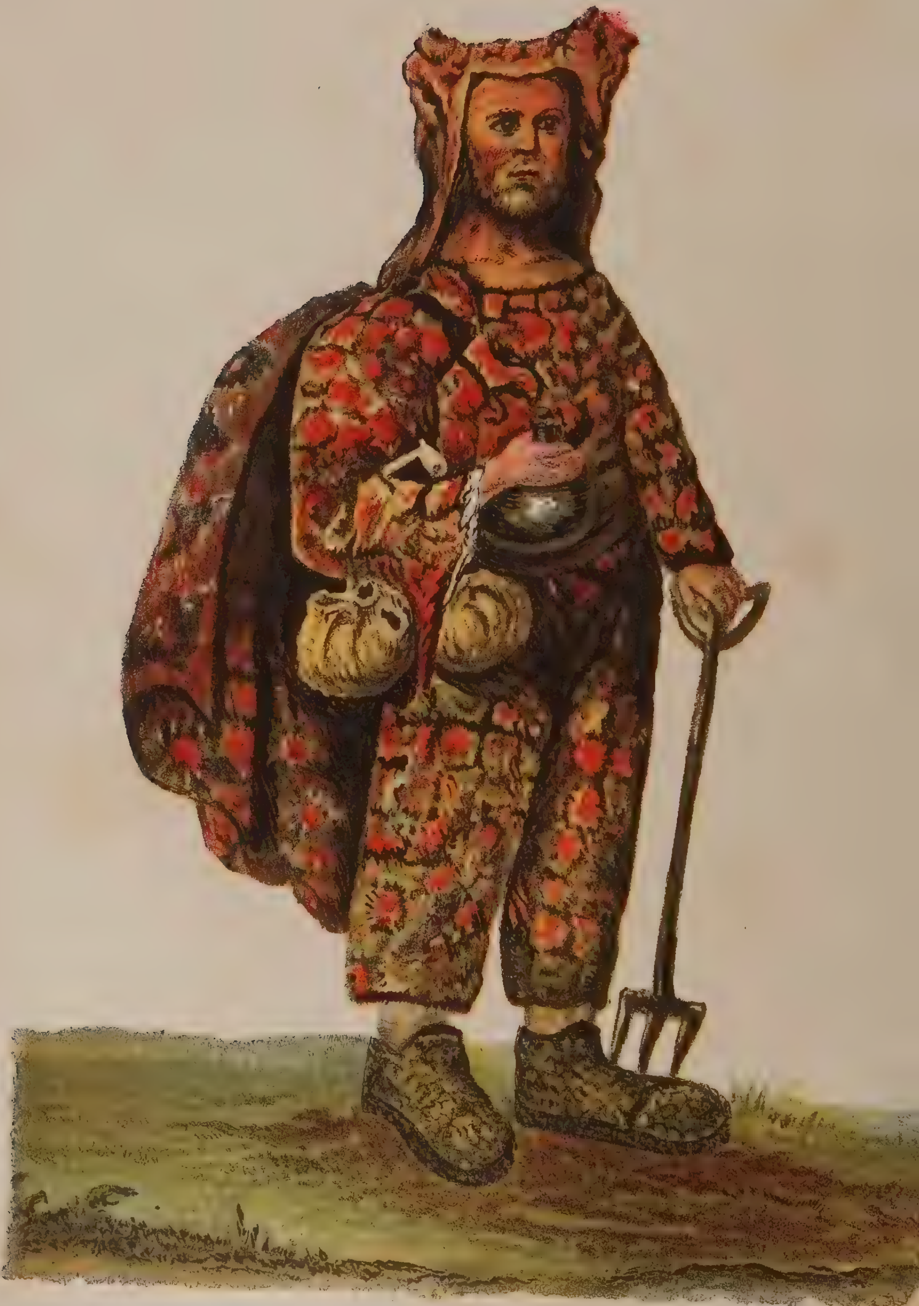
"He was born Aprill 22, 1629, and buried Aprill 4, 1696."

This account is illustrated by paintings of John Bigg and his shoe, of which the accompanying plates are copies reduced one-half.

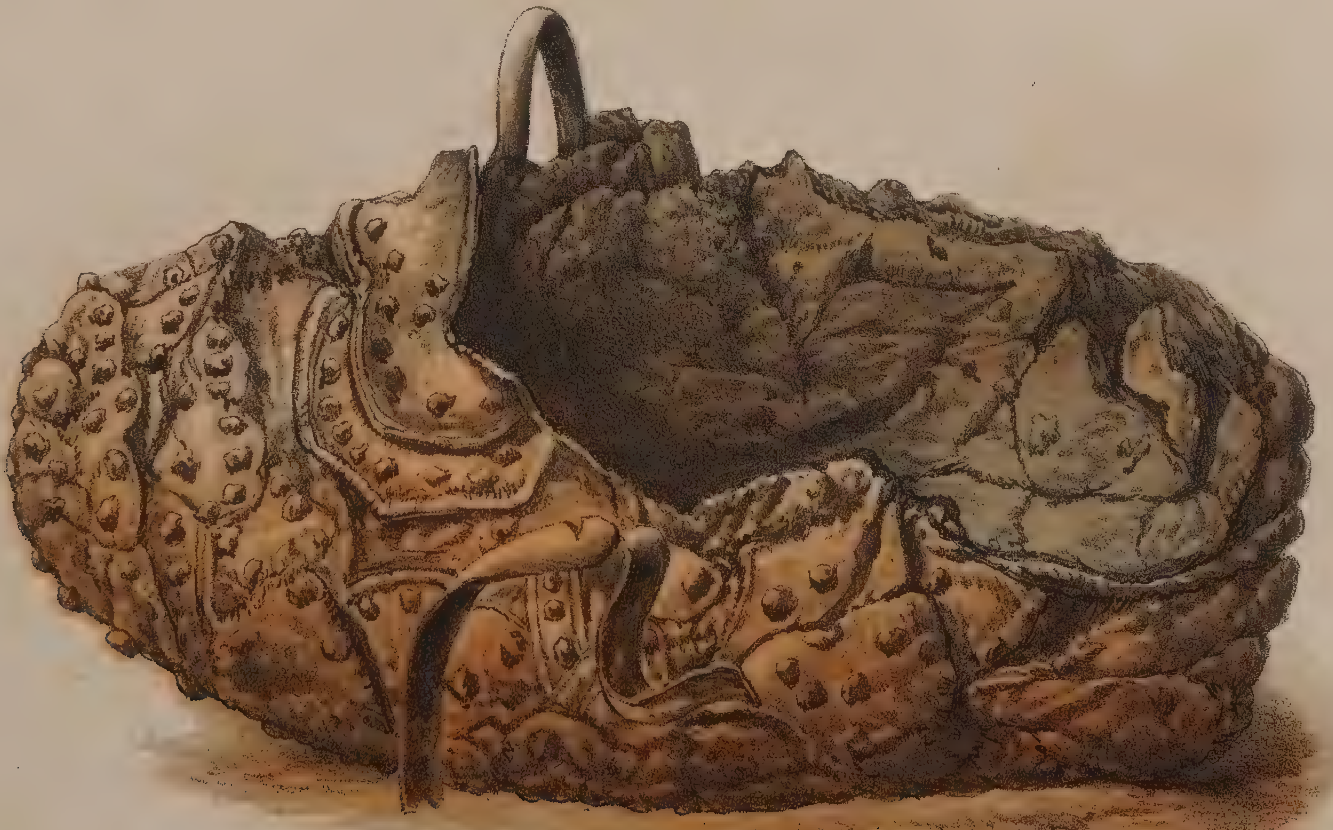
In the painting of John Bigg the shoes he wears are represented as having very thick soles, whereas the shoes themselves, and also the painting, have no conspicuous soles. One of the shoes is still preserved at the Hall, the other was given to the Ashmolean Library at Oxford, and an old shoe with patten of a different date was given in exchange.

According to common report, John Bigg was jointly employed as clerk or secretary by Simon Mayne and Colonel Dick Ingoldsby, who had two mansions in this parish, viz., Walridge, and Park End.

Among the paintings in the album is one of the *Fritillaria meleagris*, which has its habitat in Dinton. It has many local names, as Frogcup, Frocup, Crowcrop (perhaps the most common), Snake's-head, Chequered Daffodil, Chequered Tulip, Guinea Hen Flower, Common Fritillary. The vulgar belief is that the seed was carried from Ingoldsby's garden at Walridge by one of the small feeders (Ford brook) of the Tame along its whole course until its junction with the Isis, twelve miles below Oxford. The seed is of the lightest structure, and this of itself is sufficient to account for the plant being of wide extent, wherever it is localized. Its abundant growth has given rise to a special day for its gathering, which is on the



[illegible], Day & Son, Lith.



first Sunday in May, called "Frogcup Fair." It forms a characteristic feature in the children's garlands on May-day.

The church dedicated to St. Peter was restored under the direction of G. E. Street, Esq., diocesan architect, in the year 1868, and was reopened December 8, by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford. The present edifice was erected in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and has undergone many alterations. The earliest part is the south door, which is a fine specimen of early Norman work, while the west door under the tower is Early English, and many of the windows are Perpendicular. The chancel has been rebuilt with an open circular roof. It is paved with Godwin's encaustic tiles, and enriched with a handsome reredos in coloured marbles. The church throughout has been reseated. The old pulpit of the time of James I. has been placed on a new stone base on the south side of the chancel arch. An ancient piscina has been discovered in the wall of the south aisle near the east end, where there was, doubtless, an altar. The old vestry has been screened off at the west end of the south aisle; and in it has been placed the former altar-table, which has an incised inscription on the top:—

FRANSIS HUNTTS GEVEN BY THE YOUTH
OF UPTON,

And on the frame the date and following letters:—

16 IYSY SIIRPRP 06

Eight memorial windows have been put in the Church, all of a high character as works of art. The east window is a fine triplet of lancets, and has been filled with stained glass by Mr. O'Connor, of Berners Street, London. The one idea borne in mind by the artist is that of a summary of the whole history of the Church, as shown by our Lord himself and the generation of patriarchs, prophets, kings, apostles, and saints in one comprehensive cycle; and this point of view of design was taken on account of the special calling of the chief of the persons commemorated in this memorial. At the base of the centre is shown a half figure of Jesse, with clasped hands, in the attitude of repose; above this David, as king and psalmist; next is Christ, the infant Saviour, lying in the manger, and on each side kneeling figures of his mother and St. Joseph in adoration. Above this our Lord is on the cross, and at the foot of the cross the kneeling Magdalene, with the Virgin Mary and St. John standing on either side; surmounting this and terminating the centre series is represented Christ in glory as King of kings, holding in one hand the orb, the other being raised in the act of benediction. At the base of the lancet on the dexter side the first figure is Abraham the patriarch with the knife and the vessel of fire; then Isaac bearing the wood; next Jacob and the ladder, emblematic of the vision; and above, Joseph bearing the staff of office. At the top of all, both in this light and that opposite, are angels bearing crowns. The sinister side consists of four figures of the royal generation of our Lord, showing—1st Obed, 2nd Rehoboam, 3rd Hezekiah, 4th Josiah, and (as before-named) the angel and crown; all these figures are regally vested. This description completes the iconography of the series at the east end. All the figures are enshrined in the richest tabernacle details, founded on an ancient work of early type, in all details and forms enclosing the figures, which latter are effectively drawn in a bold manner and coloured with judgment. Here it may be mentioned that the artist who designed and executed the painted glass of these and the other two chancel windows, has expressed himself much gratified and obliged by the kind advice and valuable hints and suggestions which he had the privilege of receiving from the beloved and honoured friend of the donor, Lady Eastlake, the accomplished author and critic upon Ancient Sacred Art. As pendants to these, the most important portion of the series, but still bearing the same impress in idea and intention, are two smaller lancets, by the same artist, one on the north, the other on the south side, having female saints for their *motif* in design—north, St. Elizabeth and the child John the Baptist, Anna the Prophetess and the Virgin Mary; opposite, St. Catherine, St. Agnes, and St. Euphemia. All these have the same beauty of drawing and glow of harmonious colour.

Simple inscriptions occur at the base of each compartment, as follows :—

"Henrietta Elizabeth Harrison, Obiit 2nd Dec., 1868."
"John Harrison, Vicar, Obiit 17 Feb., 1865."
"Margaret Mary Harrison, Obiit 29 March, 1856."
"Elizabeth Harrison, Obiit 22 Nov. 1858."
"Euphemia Gifford, Obiit 3 Dec., 1853."

These windows have been presented by Mrs. Acton Tindal, of the Manor House, Aylesbury, only surviving child of the Rev. John Harrison, and of Henrietta Elizabeth his wife, in memory of her parents, her sister and aunt, who lie buried in Dinton Churchyard, and also of her cousin and godmother, Mrs. Euphemia Gifford, who died at Dinton Vicarage, in her 89th year.

The window at the west end (by Hardman) has been erected by Mr. Sackville Phelps, to the memory of his wife, daughter of the Rev. W. Goodall, "Matilda Phelps, died April 9th, 1867." The figures are emblematic of Faith, Hope, and Charity. Another window, in the east end of the south aisle (beautifully designed by O'Connor) has been erected by Mrs. S. M. Clotilda Raper, in memory of her late husband, Charles Raper, Esq. The subject is a full-length figure of St. Clotilda.

A window in the north side of the chancel has been filled with stained glass by the Rev. Charles Henry and Lydia Helen Burton, to the memory of their daughter Emiline Lydia, who died July 23, 1871, and who is represented with the emblem of faith meeting her Saviour. Above these figures are two medallions, likenesses of two children who died early in life.

The old monuments which were in the chancel have been erected in the tower, and the brasses removed to the vestry. Among the latter is one to the memory of the father of the regicide.

"Here lye the bodies of Simon Mayne, Esq., and Colvbery his wife, who had issue, Simon and Colvbery, w^{ch} Simon y^{e} father dyed the 13th day of July, An^{o} Dni 1617, and Colvbery the mother dyed y^{e} 10th day of January, An^{o} Dni. 1628."

There is also a tablet in the north wall erected to his memory by his wife.

There are other brasses to the memory of the families of Compton, Grenewey, John Lee of Morton, and William Lee, and Alice, his wife.

The font is Norman, and, no doubt, the remains of the cross on the churchyard opposite the porch are about the same date.

The inner doorway of the porch is also Norman. Over it is a carving of two evil spirits devouring the forbidden fruit. Underneath are two Latin lines in relief:—

PREMIA PRO MERITıS SI Q'S DESP'T HABENDA
AVDIAT HIC PRECıPTA SIBI QVE SıT RETINSNDA

Immediately under this inscription is the figure of a winged dragon, with a fish's tail, opening its mouth, and an angel thrusting a cross down its throat.* The billet and zig-zag ornaments plainly point out its date. There are similar doorways in Pedmore Church Worcestershire, Hales Owen Church Shropshire, and Barfreston Church Kent.

The advowson and church belonged to the nunnery of Godstowe, county Oxon, by the gift of Agnes de Monchensi, temp. Henry I., and her donation was confirmed by a charter of Richard II.† The abbess and convent of Godstowe, having appropriated this tithe to the use of their nunnery, a vicarage was ordained with an allowance of ten marks per annum, with altarage, the tenths of corn at Morton, Walridge, and Aston, and land called Bencroft, near the bridge. The Dinton Album mentions that—

> "Sir Walter Pye held it about 1620, and sold it to Mr. Richard Serjeant, of Aston, in this parish, who conveyed it to Simon Mayne, Esq., on whose forfeiting it, being one of the King's Judges, it was, An° 1660, taken into the Crown, and hath belonged to the Crown ever since, and the patronage is in the Lord Chancellor to this day."

The Dinton Album also contains—

> "Inventory of church goods, A° 11 Hen. 8.
>
> E. MSS. Eccl. de Dinton penes Vicar contin: Compot Gardean ejusd. Paroch incip. A° 7 Hen. 7 et fin A° 1602.
>
> Memorandum. There remayneth in the custody of Richard Saunders the best challis, the best cope, and the best vestment of crymeson velvet and cloth of gold, the best crose cloth of crymeson sersenatt, the best stremer of St. George of green sersenatt. Also another stremer of St.

---

* Sir Horace Marryat's Account of this Doorway, vol. i., page 45; and "Records of Buckinghamshire," vol. iii., page 92.

† "Dugd. Monast.," vol. iv., p. 364.

Christofere and Saynt George of linen cloth stayned. Also another stremer, new bought, of blue tabe of the Assumption of our Lady.

Itm. In the custody of John Sim another challis, which is daily occupyed.

Itm. Remayneth in the church coffer and in the churche the best cross of copp and gylt, a cope and a vestment of red damaske, anoder cope, and a vestment of silk called cloth, a bodkyn, four new autur which were bought against Chrystmas besyde the old autur, cloths to every autur, two supples, and a wehete for the clark, wiche are very old and sere, and they remayne in the church in the custody of the clarke.

Itm. Remayneth in the sayd churche coffer of our Ladys divers fyne kerchays conteyning ...... peyces and a purce is a long payer of gete bedds, and upon them x ryngs of silver and gylt, and a stoppell of sylver for a sylver bottell, which Simon Mortimer gaff to the churche and our Lady.

Itm. In the same coffer ...... towells, and von grete new towell wiche John Warren gave to the church."

The communion plate at the present time consists of two large flagons, a salver, chalice and cover. The flagons have the following inscription:—"The gift of Sir John Vanhattem, Knt., 1772," with the arms above. The salver, "Thomas Ingoldsby, Vice Comite Benjamino Gatton Vicario Deo Sacrum Anno Domini 1721." The chalice is evidently more ancient.

The following extracts are from the parish register, and have been copied in the Dinton album:—

"Mdm. yt. uppon the 23rd day of Febr., in the 6th yeare of the reign of our sovarigne Lord Charles of Englad a license to eat flesh on fish days was granted to Mrs. Jane Carter, and register'd in our church book upon ye 3^{d} day of March, 1630. Tho. Carter, Vicar, and William Gramke,
× his mark."

"Mdm. yt. upon the 14th day of Februarii, 1631, a license to eat flesh this lent, by which Thomas Carter, vicr, of Dinto, granted unto his wife and three children wth Tho. Walter and Jerat, his brother, for the better recovery of their health, and register'd this 19th day of February aforesd."

A license to eat flesh was granted to Mr. Simon Mayne and his wife, March 6th, 1636, by Tho. Carter, vic. of Dinton, the tenor of which followeth:—

Whereas by reason of notorious sickness, Mr. Simon Mayne, Esq., and Mrs. Jane Mayne, wife of the said Mr. Simon Mayne, of Dynton Com Bucks, may not use a fish diet without much prejudice to their health, I therefore Tho. Carter, Vicr. of Dynton aforesaid, doe grant unto the said Mr. Simon Mayne and Mrs. Jane Mayne, his wife, license to eat flesh on fish days during the continuance of their sickness and weakness for the better recovery of their health, according to y^{e} purport and true meaning of a statute made in the fifth year of Queen Eliz. In witness whereof I have hereunto subscrib'd my name this sixth day of March, Anno Dom., 1636.
THO. CARTER.

This license was enter'd in the church book by the said Thomas Carter, in the presence of Thomas Worster, churchwarden, March 26, Anno Dom. 1637.
THO. CARTER,
THOMAS WORSTER."

"E testo condito A^{o}. 1519 in libro antedio.

In Dei nomine, Amen. I, John Gylby, &c., gyff unto the moder church of Lincoln £8. Item unto the hy autur of the Churche of Donyngton half a quart of whete. Item, unto the rode lyth two bushells barley. Item, unto our Lady Lyght, Saint Nicholas Light, Mary Magdalen Lyght, and St. Petur Lyght, eyche of them two bushells of barley. Item, unto the parish church of Donnton too kene to be py'd for the soull of my wyff. Item, unto every poor body of the parishe havyne no plow a bushell of whete, &c.

Probatum fuit 10 Nov. An^{o}. Dom. 1519.

This is the last will of me, John Gylby, made the 28th day of July, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1519, &c. Itm, I give etc. to an honest preste, to syng for my soull in the church of Dnynton aforesaid by the space of two years next after the sale of my lands and tenents made twelve pounds sterlying, for the Entent that the churchwardens schall then for the tyme being shall keep a yerely obit or anniversarie for my soull, and Johanna Gylby my wiff, and all christen solls for ever, &c.

N.B. This is a schedule to the will, and the legacys therein mention'd are conditionally that his children decease without issue."

"E. Reg^{o}. Eccl. Dinton incipien A^{o}. 1560.

Mdm. yt. Elizabeth Ladie Hoddesden, by her last will bearing date y^{e} first day of November, An^{o}. Dom. 1637, did give fifteen pounds to be kept by the churchwardens of Dynton for the time being for a stock to remaine for ever to y^{e} use of y^{e} poor of Dynton, and y^{e} benefit thereof to be yearly given upon y^{e} day of the death of the said Dame Elizabeth Hoddesden, to ten or twelve poor old p'sons of y^{e} said p'ish of Dynton, by the direction of the minister and churchwarden of Dynton of the time being, as by y^{e} said will appeareth. And ye said Elizabeth Ladie Hoddesden dyed upon y^{e} eleventh day of March in y^{e} said yeare of our Lord one thousand sixe hundred thirtie and seven. And the said fifteene pounds was accordingly paid upon the 18th day of April, An^{o}. Dm. 1638, by Sir Thomas Sanders and Francis Sanders, executors of the said last will of y^{e} said Dame Elizabeth Hoddesden, unto Francis Hunt y^{e} elder, John Collins, and Alexander Farnbrowe, churchwardens of Dynton, the same yeare wherein ye said Lady Hoddesden dyed, as also this present year, 1638, by them to be employed for y^{e} use of y^{e} poor as aforesaid, and at y^{e} end of their year to be by them deliver'd unto their successor, according to the true meaning of y^{e} said will. In witness whereof, we y^{e} minister of Dynton, and churchwarden aforesaid, have set to o^{r}. hands, April 22nd, 1638.

Tho. Carter, Vic^{r}. de Dynton.
The mark of †† Francis Hunt.
The mark of ††† John Collins.
Alex. Farnberow.

N.B. The legacy is still paid.

I cannot conclude these historical remarks without expressing a hope that some of our members will be able, on reading them, to recall somewhat of the earlier aspect of the place. We may indeed imagine that we see the former possessors of this goodly Hall busily superintending its affairs, and bidding their friends welcome with an open-handed hospitality. Those days are passed, and many changes have taken place in the picturesque details of olden times; but nature is still as lovely, the trees, in whatever garb they are clothed, as beautiful; the garden flowers, in whatever season they are seen, as sweet, but more numerous; and the urbanity and kindness of the present possessor as cordial and frank as ever.

ETON COLLEGE.

BY THE REV. C. O. GOODFORD, D.D., PROVOST OF ETON.

I undertook, I am afraid somewhat unwisely, a few weeks ago, to read to those friends who have done us the honour of coming here to-day, a paper on some matters connected with the antiquities of this College; unwisely, because I was tempted to measure my ability to do this by my fondness for the subject, rather than by my knowledge of it, and I did not then foresee the many interruptions which I should have to the due preparation of this paper. Indeed, I much fear that when you have heard what I have to say, you will agree with what was said of the office of Provost of this College by an M.P. about three weeks since in the House, when he reported of a visit of inquiry which he had made to this place, "that he could not find out what use the Provost was except to give entertainments," and I am far from sure that you will leave this place with any deep impression of his usefulness even for that purpose. I will only say that but for more pressing duties I should have been better prepared to discharge the task which I have undertaken to-day, and it is on that ground, that I crave an indulgent hearing. I do not propose to enter into the history of the founding of this College; there are many publications from which that may be learned; but rather to go into more details connected with the building, which may be fairly supposed to be more interesting to the antiquarian than to the general reader.

And first I would remark on our Chapel, and some of the other buildings which you have seen to-day, that fondly as we who have been educated here are attached to them, and much as we admire them, and sufficient as they are for our present wants, they are not by any means such as our pious founder intended them to be. This we know from undoubted testimony—that of King Henry VI. himself. It was my luck, about three years ago, to find his directions on this subject corrected and signed by himself. There are three documents, two of them are signed, the third is not. One on a single sheet is called "the apointment made by the King, oure al Soverain Lord as touching the dimensions of the housing of his College Roial of oure Lady of Eton." Signed R. H.

A second, dated Feb. 7th, an reg. 26, *i.e.* 1448, "The apointment made by the King oure al Soverain Lord as touching certain dimensions of the Church of his College Roial of oure blessed Lady of Eton."

The first three pages are signed R. H. at the beginning and end, the fourth page has no signature.

The fifth is signed at the top R. Henricus, and the same signature occurs at the end of the document.

The first of these contains directions for "the utter (outer) walles of the Procincte, for the South, Este, North, and West Panes, the South Wall to be 1440 feet of assise, with a large dore to the water-side. The Este to extend from the water-side to the hieway 700 fete of assise. The North walle to be 1040 fete of assise, with a faire gate out of the utter court into the hie-way. The West walle 510 fete of assise, so that the utter walles of the Procincte shall contain in length 3690 fete of assise.

Then follow minute directions—where shall be the bakehouses, brewhouses, garners, stables, and hayhouse, chambers for the steward, auditors, and "other lerned counsell of the College," for the Infirmary Chambers, for the thirteen poor men—all these in "the utter courte."

In the quadrant of the College, on the north side, in "the midel a faire tour and gatehouse, with two chambers on either side, and two chambers above vawted, 40 fete long, 14 broad. On the este side of the said gate, 4 chambers, two above and two benethe, each 35 fete long, 24 broad, and on the west side (*i.e.*, where the lower school now is *), a scole 70 feet long, 24 broad, and above the same two chambers, each in length 35 feet, in brede 24."

"The east side 230 fete † — in the midel whereof directly again the entree of the Cloister, a library, 52 fete long, 24 broad, with three chambers above on one side, and 4 on the other, and beneth 9 chambers, ech 26 fete long, 18 breed, with 5 utter and 5 inner towers. On the west 230 fete in length, directly again the library, a dore into the cloyster; and above, eight chambers, and beneth other eight, with three utter tours and 5 inner tours, with a wey unto the quere for the mynister of the churche between the vestiarie and the same quere."

---

* Which is 76 by 25 feet.

† Now 135 feet.

The second document contains minute directions for the size of the church, with occasional corrections, which in each case increase the size; the object being apparently to attain the result, that the church should be, as stated at the end—longer than "the quere of Winchester (corrected to the 'Newe') College, at Oxenforde, by xxiii, broader by v fete, and the walls heyer by xx fete, the pinnacles by x feet."

"1. Breadth of church, 35 feet; length fro. quere dore to W. end, 119.[*]

"2. The yles on each side 16 feet wide; length 119 feet.

"3. On S. side a dore with a porch for christenings and weddings. (So in the Salisbury use, 'deferatur infans ad valvas ecclesiæ,' and 'in primis statuatur vir et mulier ante ostium ecclesiæ.')

"4. The steps up to the high altar six of six inches each.[†]

"5. 16 feet to be between the church wall (at the west end, and the wall of the church yard; these 16 feet to be taken from the 'hie way.'

"6. The Cloyster, E. and W., 200 fete; N. and S., 160 fete. The old ground to be raised eight 'or hyt come to the pavement.'

"7. The Cloyster to be on the N.W. and N.E. side of the church, with a dore leading into the College.

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[*] Present breadth of chapel 41 feet; present length 152 feet, but no aisles.

[†] "On the right syde of the seid hye auter to be sett an ymage of oure Lady, and on the lefte side an ymage of Seynt Nicholas, and above in the seyd reredos in the myddel to be sett a grete ymage of oure Savieoure, with xii Apostoles, with vi sett on every side of the same ymage, with sygnes and tokens of here passion and martirdome." (That the image of the Virgin, at least, was set up is clear from the fact that Dame Alice Jurdeley in her will, dated Feb. 20th, 1482, has the following clause;—'Item lego ymagini bte Marie de Eton im media ecclie ibm mea optima zonā pt xls.")

"8. Cloyster to be 15 feet wide, 20 high, with clere stories, inward vaulted and embattled on both sides.

"9. 28 fete to be left between the cloister and church to be planted with trees and flowers behovefull and convenent for the service of the church.

"10. The cementere (cemetery ?)

"11. A grete square tour on the west pane of the cloyster, xx fete within the walls, and 140 fete high, with the battlement and pinnacles.

"12. A good hye wall on the south and all round.

"13. The water at Baldwyne's Brigge to be turned onethwart into the Thames by a dych xi feet wide, and the ground between the dych and College to be raised of a grete height, so that it may at all floddes be playne and drie ground 80 feet in distance from the hall to the water. —R.H.

"14. The enhancements of the ground for the cementerie 6 feet and a half fro the street, and the wall in height above that, 5 feet and a halfe.

"15. The wall to be built of hard stone of Kent, and the garden to be enhanced with erthe to the height of a fote lower than the cementerie.

"16. The quadrant and the utter court to be a fote lower than the cementerie.

The second part, signed R. HENRICUS,
Repeats the words with which the first part begins—with lines of erasure drawn across and on the margin :—

*"Willm. Bishop of Wynchester.

*"Willm. Marchis of Suffolk."

"1 and 2. Dimensions of quire.

"3. Enhancing of the ground.

"4. Height of quire wall, 80 feet.

"5. The windows. At the este end one gret gable window of seven daies and two butras, and on either side

---

* The appearance of these names at this date is easily accounted for. William of Waynflete, now Bishop of Winchester, under whom (as Master of Winchester School) the King probably had been educated, had just been raised from the Provostship of Eton to that See, on the death of the King's uncle. The Marquis of Suffolk, as Earl with that title, had been commander of the royal forces in France. Taken prisoner there he had been employed to negotiate the King's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, and for the success with which he had conducted this negotiation, had on the King's marriage been created Marquis, and was now in high favour at court.

seven windows, every window of four daies and eight butraes, every buttraes in height fro the ground werke unto the end of the pinnacle c feet.*

"6. The hie auter 12 feet long, 5 feet broad; the first stone to be leyed in the mydel, and not be 'removed, touched, ne scored in any wise.'

"7. The vestiarie on the N. side of the quire, 50 feet in length departed (=divided?) in two houses; 24 feet broad, 20 feet high, with gable windows and side windows.

"8. The work to be done well and substantially, goodly windows, vaultes, curiouse worke of entaile and bese moulding.†

"9. 32 stalls on either side, and a rode loft like that of St. Stephen's at Westminster." (Then comes the paragraph quoted above, "and so the said quire.")‡

Then follows an estimate of the cost of the work from "Feb. 12, 1448, to Michaelmas, 32 weeke":—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The estimate is for 40 free masons, at 3*s.* per week a piece	192	0	0
12 hard hewers, 12 leyers, 2 sawyers, 4 carpenters, all at 6*d.* by the day; 40 labourers at 4*d.*§	226	13	4

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* The eight windows on the sides and the nine buttresses which we now have agree with the King's directions in another document.

† The walls were ornamented with fresco paintings, executed probably in the reign of Henry VII., by Italian artists. A writer in "Notes and Queries" accuses the authorities of Eton of having effaced these paintings, and asks whether any drawings of them were taken at the time of the restoration of the Chapel. The facts of the case are as follows:—The clerk of the works on that occasion was found by one of the Fellows diligently employed in effacing these paintings; he was at once stopped, and what remained of them was preserved and carefully copied by Mr. Essex. The drawings are now in the College Library, where they were placed by the Provost, who received them from the executors of his predecessor, but Provost Hodgson refused to allow the adoption of any plan by which the originals could remain visible.

‡ William of Waynflete's contract for making the rood loft and stalls, dated 1475, is for making the rood loft like that at Bishop Wykeham's College, at Winchester, and stalls like those in the church of St. Thomas, of Acars, in London.

§ Prof. Rogers, in his valuable work on prices and labour, vol. 1, p. 258, speaks of work going on at Merton College at the same time where the wages appear to be somewhat higher, but he omits to say whether, as is clear, from what I shall have to state presently, was the case at Eton, the labourers at Oxford were supplied with tools; he speaks too of the

				£	s.	d.
Stone from Huddleston and Caen, with carriage				100	0	0
Hewstone of Kent, with carriage				89	6	8
Ragg and Hethstone, and flint, with carriage				116	13	4
Lime and sand				108	6	8
Iron, steel, nails, iron ware, barrows, carrs, mending and repairing instruments				10	0	0
Coles for the forge, ropes, barrows, hirdells, scaffold timber, and other diverse things, with carriage				30	0	0
For the Master of the Works for half a year	25	0	0			
The Clerk of Works	6	13	4			
Robert Buston, now clerk, assigned to be attendant, helping and counselling unto thrym	6	13	4			
John Smith, master mason	6	13	4			
Robert Whately,* master carpenter	5	0	0			
Two purveyors, each £5	10	0	0			
				60	0	0
Items of various small matters in the kitchen, bakehouse, almshouses, and garnishing it				14	0	0
The some of all the said expenses by the said 52 weeks, by estimation				1093	0	0
The money to pay for this to come partly from what remains in the receiver's hands for the assignment of the feoffment of the Duchy of Lancaster				860	0	0

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chief masons receiving 8d. a day—the precise sum which John Stubbs, who paid the masons at Eton, and Robert Church, who is called Warden, received. The Professor also speaks of fewer men being employed at less wages, in the winter, which was not the case at Eton. *Vide* lease of quarry and contract for carriage of stone by water to London, and receipt of money from Provost Westbury.

* He in the *Jornale anno primo* is often employed to pay others *en masse*.

	£	s.	d.
—— Same, paiable of the assignment due at the Annunciation and Michaelmas, in the 26th year of the reign .	1000	0	0
And at Michaelmas day next year . .	767	0	0

The *Jornale Anno Primo*, though it has no date, refers to the first year of the Chapel building. It begins February 12th, but the King never seems to have had the precise number of masons which he intended. In the first 16 weeks, they vary from 40 to 53. No hard hewers appear for the first 11 weeks; then they vary from 5 to 14. The sawyers vary only from 4 to 2; the carpenters from 3 to 19; the labourers from 3 to 28. No work was done on Saints' Days, but the free-masons received their pay as though they worked; none of the others, save on special occasions—such as June 5th, the Dedication Day, when the free-masons had full pay. The others were, by the King's commandment, allowed 4*d.*, except some carpenters, who were away in the Forest working, and the two sawyers, who were at Slough working, and so had full pay; one labourer, too, who was "in ye wode at ye dedication."

The wages seem high, especially as the King found the men in tools. This appears clearly in the day-book (as well as in the estimate), where the men are often mulcted of their wages, for "breking of a traye," and "for breking a scope;" "for breking of a shovell;" "for he lost a shovell." The clerk of the works seems to have kept a good look-out in these and other matters. Men lose their wages for "late cumming" often. On one man he seems a little hard: he lost his pay because "he wold kepe his oures, and ne go to worke till the clock smyte." One incompetent man is "deliverid he is not abull." A whole set are fined a day's wages because "they wolde not go to theyre worke till two of clocke, and all maketh ——." (The following word illegible.) Another for "late advent, and goethe from his werke out of tyme." Several, on one page, are fined for not being at work "at one of clocke;" but no greater penalty is imposed on one who "wolde a ron away."

One very good rule seems to have been in vogue, to fine one who "wolde tell tailes;" and another for "telling tailes and letting his felowes." There could be no hardship in not paying a man who "wol not do nor labor but as he list hyselfe;" or those who "wrostled, and playde, and ron about in working tyme;" or a man who "will not do as he is bedyn," or "goes away without lycence;" or two men who are found "fyting." One of the most regular amongst the masons is "John Bright;" and if any archæologist could persuade his namesake of the present generation to be as conservative of these ancient institutions with his tongue as his predecessor was constructive with his trowel, he would do us a good service.

In the next year, besides the receipts from the Duchy of Lancaster, amounting to £1767, the following sums are entered:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To come from the King's coffers . .	380	0	0
A Gift from the Marquis of Suffolk .	666	13	4
A Gift of the Bishop of Winchester, for the wages of ten free masons .	75	15	0
From the Bishop of Salisbury, W. Aiscough, for the use of the work .	33	6	8
The Expenses are calculated for the whole year at	2423	18	4
The Receipts at	2922	15	0

The document signed:— "R. HENRICUS."

But, besides the sources of income named above for his work, the King had procured from Pope Eugenius IV. a Bull, by which he granted to the Provost of Eton, and to Confessors deputed by him, the power to give, on the Assumption-Day, the same absolution which the Pope himself could give, in all cases which His Holiness had not specially reserved to himself. (See Bull in Coll. Libr.) A curious proof of the effect of this exists in an audit-roll of the time,* in which there is a charge on the Feast of the Assumption of £2 13*s*. 11*d*. for the hire of thirty beds for confessors; and a receipt of £18 10*s*. 7*d*. for oblations made on the same day.

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* A.D. 1447.

Free-masons are called "Lathotomi." The same rule holds good as to paying them for the Saints' Days' work. John Bright worked almost all the year. Sometimes a carpenter occurs having only 5*d.*, or even 3*d.*, per diem, and a labourer who has 6*d.*; and here I would remark that, though the wages seem a little lower than those named by Professor Rogers, in his Book on Prices (vol. ii., p. 258), there is not, in these accounts, that reduction of pay in the winter months of which he speaks; nor does he tell us whether the wages which he names included the finding tools for the men. We have John Vady's book, as clerk of the works, from September 27th, 1445, to Michaelmas, 1446. In this book, all had their wages on St. Hugh's Day, November 17th. Why? He was Bishop of Lincoln. Perhaps out of respect to the office of Visitor held by his successors. They also had their pay on Edward the Confessor's Day. All lost three days in the week beginning December 21st, which included St. Thomas', Christmas Day, St. Stephen's, and St. John the Evangelist's. On the Purification, masons and labourers were paid, but no work done. In March, the Prostratores Mæremii come in as a new charge at 4*d.* per diem. They vary in number from 2 to 11. In this book appear also daubers, joiners, and glaziers; so that the building of the College must have made some progress. John Gore, sen., and John Gore, jun., work as masons; the latter had only 4*d.* per diem. Only one instance occurs of a mulct of wages—in the case of Richard Foxe, mason:—

> "Disalloc sua vadia pro tard,
> Advent suo diversis temporibus."

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The sum total expended on the building this year	410	12	5
We have also the wages-book for 1453 (John Medehill, Clerk of the Works). Total	471	9	10½
1456—(Also John Medehill), the book imperfect. No total.			
1458—(Still John Medehill). Total expended	408	8	8½
The Receipts are all from Provost Westbury. Total for 59th year . .	452	2	2

The year following, the King was made prisoner, and taken to London. We may easily imagine the consternation which this would produce here, and shall not be surprised to find that the Provost and Fellows went or sent immediately to London, and procured from the Duke of York the protection which still remains in the College Library, written on a small slip of paper, and signed, "E. YORKE." A proof, to my mind, of the haste in which it was asked and given, is found in the fact that the seal, usually attached to, was impressed upon, the paper. The traces of it are most clear, though the impression itself is gone.

How long the Duke remained in good humour I cannot say, but we know that he had it in his mind to suppress this College, and transfer its property to the College of Windsor. He had obtained a Bull from the Pope with this object, on the ground of the institution being useless to the purposes to which it had been destined. We now see the advantage of Provost Westbury's diligence in building. He was able to contradict this assertion, and to appeal to the Pope against this contemplated act of disendowment. The Pope with singular fairness remitted the case to Thomas Bourchier, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and he with a love of justice which enabled him to act without fear of the King, decided in favour of the College. The Provost's protest and the Archbishop's sentence are both in existence—the latter a most beautifully illuminated document, with seal quite perfect. To these we owe what we now have, though not all which Henry VI. gave us, for Edward robbed, though he did not destroy us, not of land only, but—as appears from an inventory bearing date 1465, and exhibited in the library, but so much damaged by wet as to be in great part illegible, though so long as to show that its contents were considerable,—of a large amount of plate. The list fills seven rolls of vellum. I cannot find that our neighbours on the hill, to whom we were compelled to resign this, have any record of the receipt. Provost Westbury seems to have anticipated some seizure of this sort, from his having had an inventory made in the previous year, and possibly some of it came back again, for in 1537, there is another very legible and copious list of plate and jewels, taken by order of King Henry VIII. The articles therein mentioned were delivered to the Commissioners (a word of unpleasant import from that day to this) "for the use of our said sovereign Lord until his highness's further pleasure shall be signified and declared in that behalf." The significant quotation made by one of the Fellows of the day hints pretty clearly at what that pleasure was—

> "Ferus omnia Jupiter Argos
> Transtulit; incensa Danai dominantur in urbe."

Doubtless, we are to translate "Argos" by Windsor Castle, and "ferus Jupiter" by Henry VIII., and when I add that by what he was pleased to call an exchange, he got from us 185½ acres of land, extending from Chelsea to Aye Hill, near Berkeley Square, including the land on which St. James's Palace now stands, you will perceive how much better I should have been able to discharge that duty which is said to be my only one, had Edward IV. and Henry VIII. been a little less rapacious. You will see, too, the justice of the saying—

> "Henricus Octavus took away more than he gave us."

Still Edward IV. left us enough wherewith to entertain Henry VII., and his son did not disdain to partake of the College hospitality. The relative cost of entertaining these two kings may seem in some measure an indication of their character. On October 21, 1506, Henry VII. dined in hall. The College spent on the occasion £13 0*s.* 9½*d.* On July 2, 1510, in the second year of his reign, Henry VIII. followed his father's example, when the College spent £17 17*s.* 8*d.* Possibly the display of plate then was as unwise as Hezekiah's exhibition of his treasure. Certainly, had it all remained, and with it the land which, by an unpleasant fiction, he took in exchange, we could have made a better show than we can to-day. Be this as it may, the building went on in Edward IV.'s time, for his letter to the constable of Windsor Castle, dated Dec. 12, 1472, directing him to allow the Provost and College to dig for chalk and flint in the park for building the church is in the College Library. In the second year of Richard III., 1484, the "Magister Operum" dined in hall. We have also building accounts of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.'s reigns — the eighth, tenth, and eleventh years of Henry VIII. In the latter a clerk of the works' book of the total expended in the year was only £180 4*s*. 4*d*. Little was carried out as the founder intended: indeed I believe that the cellar, with its vaulted roof beneath this hall, as he ordered, is almost the only part done as he wished. Part of this hall, as may be seen from without, was built of stone, and there is an evident mark of interruption, and of completion in brick at a later date. But though the cellars were finished, they are no longer furnished as the pious founder meant they should be.

The last person who contributed the "*duo dolia vini rubri*," which Henry VI. intended we should have annually *in perpetuum*, having been Oliver Cromwell, whose warrant for its delivery is in the College Library.

* * *

Discovery of a Roman Kiln at Stone.—In the early part of December, 1871, as the owner was levelling a newly-purchased piece of land on the north side of the road, immediately opposite the Vicarage, he discovered a Roman kiln. The natural hill of sand had evidently been excavated in the shape of a basin, and lined with burnt clay, three inches in thickness. The inside of the kiln measured four feet in diameter, and two and a half feet in depth; the top was about one foot from the surface. It was filled with sand, charcoal, and a great quantity of coarse broken pottery. On this sand-hill has been discovered, at different times, many Roman and also Anglo-Saxon remains. C. L.

Remains of an Old Boat found in the Bed of the Thames.—In 1871, an old boat, or punt, was raised from the bed of the Thames, near the Marlow Road Station. It had sunk in 16 ft. of water, and was buried in a bed of sand. It is 25 ft. 3 in. long, and 3 ft. 4 in. wide; and has been cut out of a solid oak-tree. The sides have perished. The bow is pointed and has an upward curve, and the stern is square; there are two seats near the stern, which have been formed out of the solid wood. It is probably an early British boat, and is now in the possession of Alfred Cocks, Esq., of Great Marlow.

BELL-FOUNDRIES IN THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

This short notice may interest some of your readers of the present day, although upon a subject which, thirty years ago, one would have been classed very low in the social scale for handling; but, thanks to the untiring exertions of that veteran and learned campanist, the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, and others, our church bells have again been brought into repute, the ropes rescued from the unruly grasp of the young and thoughtless, and the sanctity of our towers once more recognized.

The unseemly behaviour in the belfry of the last few generations of ringers was but a natural consequence upon the short-sighted and Puritanical policy of bygone churchwardens, who, instead of repairing in a churchmanlike manner windows and other parts not always impervious to the inclemency of the weather, partitioned off the tower and aisles, and, in many of our parish churches, even the chancel too, as parts unfit for holy uses.

The most important bell-foundry in this country was at Drayton-Parslow. The Rev. J. J. Raven, in his "Church Bells of Cambridgeshire" (Lowestoft, 1869), p. 52, mentions the existence of Richard Chandler's foundry at Drayton-Parslow, in the seventeenth century. Through the kindness of the Rev. Benjamin Spurrell, who most courteously allowed me access to the parish registers, I have been enabled to prove, beyond a doubt, that such a foundry did exist. There are several entries of the more interesting events in the lives of the Chandler family — their birth, marriage, and death — extending over the greater part of the seventeenth, and part of the eighteenth centuries, to wit: "Henry, son of Richard Chandler, *bell-founder*, and Mary, his wife, baptised April ye 28, 1702."

I cannot say when this foundry was first established, but probably not till about the middle of the seventeenth century. There were two, perhaps three, generations of Chandlers founders at Drayton.

"RICHARD CHANDLER,
1638,"

is the inscription on the tenor at Cheddington. It has a fine tone, and measures 41 inches across the lip.

"CHANDLER MADE ME, 1652,"

is the testimony of bells 1, 2, and 4, at Aston Abbots.

"ANTHONY CHANDLER, PRAISE THE LORD, 1679."

(The tenor at Marsworth.)

"GEORGE CHANDLER MADE ME, 1682."

(The 4th at Marsworth). "Ditto" the 3rd in 1702.

The last of them, Richard, did a very extensive business, not only in our own, but in neighbouring and even more distant counties. The treble at Dunton is one of his latest productions.

"R. C. MADE ME, 1720."

He was an excellent workman moreover. (It is locally reported that he would execute all orders himself, leaving nothing to his men.) Hear the testimony of the Rev. J. H. Sperling, a no mean authority. In particularizing the tenor at Melbourne, Cambs., he writes ("Raven's Church Bells of Cambs."): "This is one of the grandest-sounding bells for its weight (18 cwt.; note F; lip 47 in. diam.) I ever heard. It bears the inscription—

"RICHARD CHANDLER MADE ME, 1688."

Edward Hall (probably a son-in-law, for Richard Chandler married twice, and left a large family) succeeded Richard Chandler. Hall cast the third at Aston Abbots, in 1739, and fifth in the same tower the following year; one or two at Stewkley, etc.; but the improving state of the high-roads and communications with the metropolis, Oxford, Gloucester, and other large towns, where other bell-foundries existed, was fatal to our craftsman; for Hall's business—already past its zenith when he took to it—gradually succumbed. He appears to have found a difficulty in getting a suitable maintenance out of his craft, and to have annexed a general blacksmith's shop to his business. But even this did not thrive, for on "9 February, 1755 (was buried), Edward Hall, *poor bell-founder*." So runs the parish register.

The site of this foundry is the garden and paddock in the rear of the "Three Horse-shoes" inn, built about twenty years ago by the present proprietor. One John Baldwin, a bedridden village worthy, tells me that he in early life succeeded one William Hall, probably a grandson of Edward Hall above, in the village smithy business, which at that time was, and still is, carried on on the site of the old bell-foundry. Baldwin bears testimony, moreover, to having found, whilst digging clay, etc., in the paddock and garden, sundry bits of bell-metal (not preserved); also to having taken over with the business sundry metal castings, also small metal and other moulds (not preserved), and a quantity of sand, all which William Hall said his grandfather used in the bell-foundry business.

The bells cast at this foundry are plain in appearance, the lettering Roman capitals. Neither Edward Hall nor Richard Chandler used any special trade mark, but one or two of their predecessors would occasionally impress the accompanying figures 1, 2, 3 or 4.

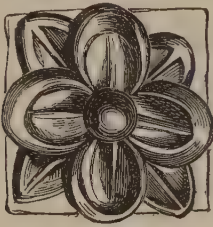

Fig. 1.

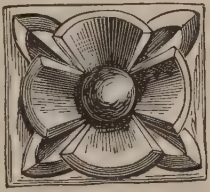

Fig. 2.

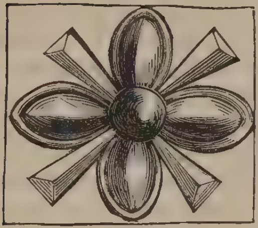

Fig. 3.

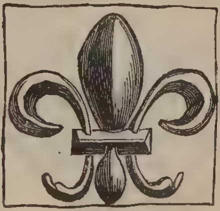

Fig. 4.

as at Cheddington and Aston Abbots, or attempt to ornament the lettering, as on the Marsworth treble. The second at Hardwick,

"ANTHONY CHANDLER MADE ME,
1675,"

bears the impress of both the face and reverse side of a crown piece of Charles II. struck in 1673.

Lipscombe says that George Chandler cast, in 1687, the big bell at Wing. This is one of the heaviest bells in the county, weighing about *twenty-six cwt.*, as estimated by Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough, who recast the fifth in 1842, not 33 cwt., as per Browne Willis, MS. copied by Lipscombe, and also in the "Records," 1850. The tenor bell has since been recast by Warners, of London.

Another foundry was at Buckingham. The Rev. W. C. Lukis has found Bartholomew and Robert Atton, bell-founders at Buckingham, from 1590 to 1624 ("Lukis on Church Bells," Parkers, 1857, errata at end of vol.) The tenor at Oving, a very fine-toned bell, weight 14 cwt., bears the inscription, "R.A., 1617," and was probably the work of the latter. The third at Passenham, Northants, runs :—

"BARTHOLOMEW-ATTON-MADE-ME. B.A., 1624."

This bell also bears a stamp, fig. 5 (*vide* "Notes and Queries," Jan. 20, and Feb. 3, 1872). A. Daniel-Tyssen, Esq., in his "Church Bells of Sussex" (Lewes, 1864), tells us that this, or a sister stamp, was "originally used by a Norwich founder, but that, in 1588, it disappears from the Eastern Counties, finds its way to the Whitechapel foundry, thence to Reading." That Attons of Buckingham used this stamp need not surprise us, as it was not at all unusual for the founders of that period to infringe upon one another's trademarks. This same stamp also occurs upon the tenor at Drayton Parslow, cast in 1591, and inscribed "BARTHOLOMEWE." This Drayton bell is closely akin to the second at Pitchcott,

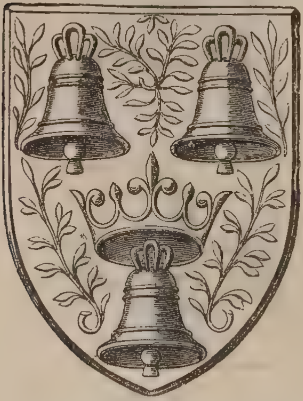

Fig. 5.

"SEINT LVKE APOSTEL, 1591."

But that these last two are Atton's productions is merely my own conjecture. The tenor at Hardwick inscribed "ROBART NEWCOME MADE ME, 1590," has similar lettering and stamps. Mr. Lukis tells us this man was a founder at Leicester, 1598 to 1612. He may have been a foreman at the Buckingham foundry, prior to starting on his own account at Leicester. The Drayton tenor, 2nd at Pitchcott, and Hardwick tenor, each carry also an elegant initial cross. So few church-warden's accounts, or other parish records likely to throw light upon the subject, have survived the wanton destruction of the Cromwellian period, and negligence of succeeding generations, that it is impossible to fix, for a certainty, the founder of every individual old bell in our towers.

Another name has come under my observation. I allude to Seymour, of Aylesbury, who is an ironmonger, and cannot be designated a bell-founder proper, but who, in the year 1850, having an order to recast the Sanctus bell at Hardwicke, put his own name and place of business, "S. SEYMOUR, AYLESBURY," upon the new instrument, which is a most miserable apology for the old one, which was inscribed "CHANDLER MADE ME."

I have no reason for concluding that there were no other foundries in our county. Should any reader know of others I shall consider it a great favour to be informed of their existence and locality.

I cannot permit the insertion of even this short notice without expressing my utter unworthiness to take up a subject so ably introduced to your notice, and dwelt upon in an earlier number of the "RECORDS," by the Rev. J. Batty, and at the same time thanking those eminent campanists who have, from time to time, so kindly furnished me with information upon this subject.

THOS. ARCHER TURNER.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
St. Mark's Day, 1872.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

England under the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy.

BY THE REV. J. R. PRETYMAN, M.A.

England under the Anglo-Saxon Monarchy: such is the subject with which I propose to begin my series of comments on English History. I wish to give a picture of the Anglo-Saxon institutions and laws, throwing as full a light as I may be able on those of which we find traces in our own present civil constitution. I intend also to point out some of those qualities of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers which are clearly reflected in the character of their descendants—the great body of the English people. The subject, though involved in some uncertainty, naturally has much interest for Englishmen of cultivated and inquiring minds.

In the treatment of it, our attention is first called to the Anglo-Saxon form of government, which, like our own, was of a mixed kind, regal, aristocratic and popular. The laws were made "by the King and his Witan," or wise men, the members of the old Anglo-Saxon Parliament, which was called the Witena-gemote. Thus the laws of Alfred begin, "I, Alfred, King, with my Bishops, Thanes, and Witan, ordain," etc. Nor was the power of the Witena-gemote limited to a share in legislation, including the occasional imposition of taxes, such as the Danegelt. In those days the distinction, familiar to ourselves, between the executive and legislative powers of the State was not accurately defined. The Witena-gemote acted concurrently with the King in declaring war, in making peace, in entering into treaties, in the appointment of the great functionaries of the kingdom, and in the general administration of public affairs.

Though, however, the authority of the King was thus constitutionally limited, it was practically much greater than we should suppose, or than is the case in modern England.

The enormous extent of his lands and possessions, far exceeding those even of the greatest landed proprietors among his subjects, gave him a great additional weight in the State, especially as property appears to have carried with it greater importance than any other element of social distinction: and, as we may expect to find in the earlier stages of a nation's political progress, the power of an individual king would greatly preponderate, in proportion to his popularity or his capability for government. The Anglo-Saxon sovereigns received high-sounding titles, and were surrounded by much of the state and ceremonial pomp of royalty, borrowed, as it is thought, in a great degree from the forms of the lower Roman Empire. The crown was not strictly hereditary, though, with the sole exception of Harold's election, it always went to one of the race of Cerdic. Of a minor, as King, the Anglo-Saxons appear to have had but little notion, and if the immediate heir of a deceased King was in his minority, the crown passed on to the next adult male relative. It was in pursuance of this law that the great Alfred himself succeeded to the throne.

The Witena-gemote, or great council of the nation, met, as does our Parliament, every year—indeed, as often as three times in the year. It was composed, like our national legislature, of the spiritualty and temporalty, and consisted of the Bishops, some of the Abbots (there were even *Abbesses*, it appears, among its members), Eorldermen or Earls, and some of the greater Thanes or Lords, called "King's Thanes;" but whether it included any members of the class of Ceorls, or any representation of the Ceorls, is a long and doubtful dispute, into which I forbear to enter. I think, however, we may accept the conclusion of some writers that there was an indirect, but *virtual*, representation of the Commons in the presence of some of the chief magistrates of certain borough towns, those magistrates being in many cases *elected* by the householders.

In the institutions of these borough towns lay the very seeds from which, after the winter of the Norman Conquest, our national liberties began to spring up. Their constitution was apparently very democratic.*

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* This statement, however, must be modified by the fact that the great proprietors in the borough towns apparently exercised much authority and influence in civic affairs.

At the Borough-motes (or meetings of the borough), all the affairs of the borough, judicial and administrative, were transacted, and all the free inhabitants of the town were voters. To this municipal constitution of the Anglo-Saxons we owe the "Scot-and-lot voters" and the "potwallopers," who in various of our present borough towns still exercise the parliamentary franchise, though the Reform Act of 1832 has provided for the extinction of these two kinds of qualification after the death of the persons who now enjoy it. You will ask, what are these qualifications? The "Scot-and-lot" voters are those who make any payment ("scot" means payment) towards the rates—who pay their *allotted* portion of those rates. The "potwallopers" are those who possess in the borough-town any tenement, however small; and the term is supposed to imply that the tenement need only be large enough to *boil a pot in*. In some borough towns every householder voted, previously to the Reform Act of 1832, for members of Parliament. There is no doubt that these franchises are of Anglo-Saxon origin; and when the borough had the right of electing its own magistrates, the possessors of these franchises would, doubtless, vote in the election, and thus, in the cases in which these magistrates were summoned to the Witena-gemote, there was some representation of the Commons in the national legislature.

Returning to the functions of the Witena-gemote, I may notice that the assembly was not only the national legislature and the King's administrative council, but the highest court of law and justice. Sometimes it took cognizance of important causes in the first instance; but it was the regular court of appeal from the courts immediately below it, the shire-motes or county courts. This attribute of the Witena-gemote as a judicial assembly was preserved after the Norman Conquest, in the great Council, or, as it was afterwards termed, Parliament, and, as we know, is continued to the present day, in the name of the "High Court of Parliament," and in the jurisdiction, both original and appellative, actually exercised by our House of Lords. It is to be observed that in Anglo-Saxon times, as in the earliest stages of almost all constitutional governments, the supreme national council was even more of what we should call a court of law and justice than a legislative body; for the Witenagemote appears to have been rather occupied in interpreting and applying existing laws, than in framing new enactments, and to have made law chiefly by their decisions in particular cases, as is done in the present day by our courts of law, when the law has not been declared by the statutes of the realm.

I proceed to notice the political organization of the Anglo-Saxons, in respect to the several *divisions* of the country and its population, with their respective magistracies and assemblies. Local self-government, as distinguished from the action of the central power, was even a more characteristic feature of England before the Conquest than it is of England at the present day, although we have largely inherited it from our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, and are especially distinguished by it from other European nations. The kingdom was divided, as it still is, into shires (the word "shire" itself means "division"). The shires, after the Norman Conquest, were called counties also. Each shire had its chief magistrate, the eorlderman, an officer of great power and importance, appointed by the King, with or without (for the fact seems uncertain) the consent of his "Witan." The shire was divided into so many hundreds, the number of which is found to vary (for the same division of hundreds still exists) in different shires. The hundred was composed of ten tithings, each tithing having originally been an assemblage of ten families. The name of Tithing, denoting a village, is still to be met with in different parts of England. Shakespeare employs it in the play of "King Lear;" "Poor Tom, who is whipped from tithing to tithing, and stock-punished, and imprisoned." All the freemen in a tithing were bound for the good behaviour of each other, according to the ancient Anglo-Saxon law, called that of "frank pledge," to which I shall have occasion to revert hereafter. At the head of the tithing was an officer called "the tithing-man, or decenary, or head-borough," whose duty it was to preserve the peace of the tithing, and inspect the conduct of the inhabitants. The parish constable is the nearest approach we have to the tithing-man; in some parishes this officer is still called the head-borough. The hundred was presided over by its centenary or hundreden, and had its assembly called the hundred-mote, consisting of the heads of the several tithings of which the hundred was composed. This hundred-mote may be regarded as the great scene of political and civil life and activity among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. It was held once in each month. Every kind of trial, civil and criminal, took place at it; and bargains and sales, and all other legal transfers of property, were publicly attested before it, in memorial of the different transactions. Sometimes the adjacent hundreds associated themselves together for their common purposes, and had one joint *mote*, or meeting, among them. The hundreds thus combined were sometimes called the two hundreds or three hundreds, or even the eight hundreds, as the case might be (for the number varied), of such a district or town; sometimes they were called the "lathe," or the "rape," or the "wapentake," of such a locality. These divisions, with their respective names, have continued to the present day, and still serve some purposes of local jurisdiction. Thus, we find Sussex divided into rapes, such as the "Rape of Bramber;" the "Rape of Pevensey." Kent is made up of lathes, such as the "Lathe of Aylesford," containing fourteen hundreds; the "Lathe of Sutton," containing eight hundreds. Yorkshire consists of three great divisions, called "trithings," or, as the name is now corrupted, "ridings." Bucks is divided into several "three hundreds." On the other hand, Middlesex consists of six *separate* hundreds. I may mention that, to the north of the Trent, the name of "wapentake" often takes the place of "hundred." While these divisions of hundreds remain exactly as they were made by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, the hundred-mote, the great assembly of their inhabitants, has long since fallen into disuse. Above the hundred-mote, in Anglo-Saxon times, was the shire-mote. It was held every month, or at least several times during the year; and, indeed, frequent assemblies for public purposes were thoroughly characteristic of the people. The shire-mote took cognizance of causes of all kinds, criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical. Over it the Eorlderman, or, in his absence, the Shire-reeve (sheriff), presided together with the Bishop. It consisted of the whole body of the thanes of the shire. Of the greater, or King's thanes, I have already spoken, as members of the Witena-gemote. They correspond with the greater barons of the times succeeding the Norman Conquest. The lesser thanes bear an analogy with the knights, or holders by knight's service, in the Norman polity, and are like them designated in Latin by the term "*milites.*" Thus composed, the shire-mote exercised its judicial functions, both in appeal from the hundred-mote, and in the first instance also; but, as regards the nature of the different causes which would come in the first instance, either before this assembly or before the hundred-mote, it would apparrently depend upon the rank of the parties, or the importance of the cause. From the decision of the shire-mote, which, however, was very highly regarded, appeal lay, as I have observed before, to the Witena-gemote, over which the King presided. Besides its judicial functions, the shire-mote had also the regulation of matters connected with the concerns of the shire, such as the muster of the military array, the reparations of roads and bridges, and the levying of rates for these purposes.

In comparing the present magnates and institutions of the shire or county with those of the Anglo-Saxon times, I will first observe that the eorlderman is now, in some degree, represented by the Lord Lieutenant of the county.

The office of the Anglo-Saxon eorlderman, transformed into that of the Norman Earl or Count, became, according to the usual tendency of feudalism, hereditary; but his official character, as chief magistrate of the county, appears to have ceased in the reign of Henry II.

In our own day the Lord Lieutenant, as the eorlderman of old, is appointed by the Crown for life only, and like his predecessor, has the command and ordering of the military array—the militia of the shire. The shire-reeve, however (originally the scir-gereefa) still subsists, under the slightly altered name of the sheriff, his office being called the shrievalty, while he retains many of the functions of his Anglo-Saxon predecessor. He is now, indeed, appointed by the Crown, whereas in those times he was, at first, elected by the freeholders of the shire, and afterwards appointed by the King, with or without (for it is not certain) the acceptance of the shire-mote. He is the second, or, as some think, the first man of the shire, and takes precedence of all its inhabitants. As in Anglo-Saxon days, he presided over shire-motes in the absence of the eorlderman (which would be of frequent occurrence when, as in the later days of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, the same eorlderman often had *several* shires under his jurisdiction), so, in our times, the sheriff summons and presides over meetings of the shire. These meetings, when held for the election of knights of the shire, as members of Parliament for the county are officially still called, are in law termed county courts; and it is the duty of the sheriff to hold them, and to direct and regulate their proceedings according to law. The sheriff also calls and presides at meetings of the shire held for other legal purposes, such as the presentation of addresses to the Crown, or petitions to the Houses of Parliament. A remnant of the judicial functions which the shire-reeve exercised in Auglo-Saxon times, subsisted till very lately in the form of a court of law, which the sheriff held with a jury of freeholders of the shire, to determine certain cases of disputed property in land, arising within the limits of his jurisdiction. And the sheriff, as the shire-reeve of old, is the chief executive officer of the Crown, and principal conservator of peace in the shire, and, as such, he is empowered upon occasion to summon to his aid any of the inhabitants of the shire. Of the ancient shire-mote both the judicial and administrative functions are still, in a great measure, exercised by a somewhat analogous assemblage, called the Court of Quarter Sessions. This court consists of all the Justices of the Peace, who, like the members of the ancient shire-mote, are in effect the principal inhabitants of the shire, and it is aided, in judicial matters, by a jury of the freeholders and occupiers of property of not less annual value than £20. It takes cognizance of all offences not capital, and of certain civil causes. It discharges also certain administrative functions, similar to those which I mentioned as belonging to the shire-mote of old, such as the reparation of bridges and roads, the management of the police of the shire, and the levying of rates for these purposes.

While speaking of local divisions and jurisdictions of Anglo-Saxon days, I must not omit to mention that the essentials of the feudal system even then obtained in England, though not with the completeness of military discipline and centralization of Norman times; that there were then what would be termed Lords of Manors; that the Lord and his dependants had, in accordance with the feudal theory, certain reciprocal duties; and that he held a "mote," or court, of which his free tenants (or, as they were called, his "men") were members. This court was termed, "the *hall-mote*"—sometimes, also, the court leet, or leet. Civil and criminal jurisdiction was exercised in it, according to the King's grant of that privilege. The language usually employed in granting the privilege of separate jurisdiction to a manor was the giving "soc, sac, toll, team, and infangtheof"—a legal formula which, as it often occurs in records before and after the Conquest, demands an explanation. The words signify the right of holding a court, to which all the freemen of the territory shall repair—"sac"; of deciding pleas therein—"soc"; of imposing fines according to the law—"team"; of taking tolls on the sale of goods—"toll"; and of punishing capitally a thief taken in the fact within the limits of the manor—"infangtheof." The same formula was also employed in Royal charters granting the like privileges in other cases, as to certain monasteries, and to borough-towns; and it throws much light on the nature of the powers possessed by the several local jurisdictions which abounded in Anglo-Saxon England. The court of "hall-mote" exists, in a shadowy remnant of its functions, under the name of the "court-leet," or "court-baron" (sometimes both courts are found), in the different manors of the kingdom. In it the Lord of the Manor, or his representative, together with the tenants of the manor, sit as judges. Their powers, however, only extend to matters connected with the manorial property, and much of their proceedings are merely affairs of form and antiquated custom. A manor, in these days, is simply a species of property. Formerly, as we have seen, a considerable jurisdiction also was attached to it. Even now, in many manors, the lord retains the profitable right of taking tolls upon goods exposed for sale in the market.

I have already spoken incidentally of the organization of the borough-towns; but their importance, as separate districts of the kingdom, with independent jurisdictions and magistracies of their own, like a number of little *republics*, requires, in this place, a further notice.

These towns were enclosed and fortified by walls and trenches. Each of them had usually, under the name of "borough-reeve" or "port-reeve," a chief magistrate, elected by all the free inhabitants, and exercising functions analogous to those which the "shire-reeve" discharged in the shire. Like all other civil associations into which the Anglo-Saxon people were organized, the borough-town had its public council, or "mote." This was called the "borough-mote," or "folk-mote," sometimes by a name familiar to ourselves, the "husting-mote." It was held commonly once a week. It consisted of the whole number of the citizens; and at it the affairs of the local community were discussed and settled. The place of its assembling was the Guild-hall—a familiar name at the present day in London and some other corporate towns, as denoting a public building appropriated to municipal purposes. In addition to the "borough-reeve," or "port-reeve" (for the title of Mayor, which now distinguishes the chief functionary of a borough-town, was introduced from France by the Normans), there were, in great borough-towns, Eorldermen, of whom our present Aldermen (with but a slight variation, as we see, of the original name) are the lineal successors. In fact, in some of our most ancient corporate towns (especially in London), we may still see much which has remained to us from the municipal institutions of the Anglo-Saxon period. Thus, in London, besides *Aldermen*, and the *Guildhall*, we have *Wardmotes*—the very word bespeaks its Anglo-Saxon origin; the City being divided into so many wards, each of which has its own "mote," or meeting of the free-men. The wards witness to the ancient practice of keeping *guard*, or, as it is called, "watch and ward," on the walls and fortifications—a practice which, in those unsettled times, both before and after the Conquest, was necessary for the security of the citizens, and which it was their privilege and duty, by royal grant, to execute for themselves. The wards were the several portions of the defences respectively allotted to the different Companies into which the whole number of the citizens was divided. These Anglo-Saxon boroughs had—as the same boroughs still have—the power of making *by-laws, i.e., borough laws*, for their own government. They also had their own independent jurisdiction, civil and criminal—the latter extending even to capital offences. They have continued to the present day to exercise a criminal jurisdiction; though, by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, which made some important alterations in their ancient privileges, that jurisdiction has been greatly retrenched and modified; while the City of London alone has been permitted to retain all its original privileges (judicial and other) intact. Having here dropped an allusion to recent regulations of the borough or corporate towns, I may simply add that, in principle, those regulations have reverted to the original popular constitution of these towns, which, chiefly under the policy of Tudor and Stuart times, had, in most instances, received more oligarchical forms of municipal government.

I shall now speak of the laws and judicial practices of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Of these, none has attracted more attention than the celebrated law of "frank-pledge." "Frank-pledge" was a custom by which, while every freeman above the age of twelve years was obliged to belong to some tithing, or hundred, or borough town, all the other members of such association were pledges, or securities, for his abiding the course of justice. The way in which "frank-pledge" operated was as follows:—When a member of the tithing or other district bound in frank-pledge was guilty of an offence against the law, the other members were bound to produce him to receive his trial and punishment. If, however, by their connivance or negligence, he were permitted to escape from justice, they would have to make up the fine due to his crime, in case that he should not have left behind him goods of an amount sufficient for the payment of the fine. Thus, every one associated with others in frank-pledge was bound, in the share of the fines he might have to bear for the offences of his fellows, to observe their conduct, and prevent the escape of an offender. Lawless and turbulent indeed must that state of society have been which can have suggested so rude a kind of police regulations for its amendment!

A remnant of the old law of frank-pledge still subsists in the liability incumbent upon the hundred (or shire) to make good to an inhabitant the damages inflicted upon his property by a riotous assemblage. I would add, upon the general subject of frank-pledge, that its institution is ascribed (though with doubtful accuracy) to the great Anglo-Saxon legislator, Alfred.

For understanding the methods in which justice was administered by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, it is necessary to be acquainted with their legal classification. The whole free population (for there was a large class of slaves, or, as they were called, "theowes") was divided into two great classes—that of the "Eorls," and that of the "Ceorls." The "eorls" were the nobility and the gentry; the "ceorls" (we have the word still subsisting in the altered form of "churl") were the commonalty. The "eorls" were again divided into "twelfth hindmen," or King's thanes, and "six hindmen," or lesser thanes. The "ceorls" were also called "two hindmen." I may mention, in passing, that, as a general rule, every ceorl, though a freeman, was obliged to be dependent upon some lord (Anglo-Saxon, "hlaford"); nor does any notion of degradation appear to have attached, on this account, to the condition of the class. However, it seems that there were a few ceorls more fortunate than the rest, who, by the indulgence of their lords, had obtained personal independence, and even some small landed property. These are called, in Domesday Book, "socmen," and are to be considered the originals of our English yeomen—a class of men who exhibit much of the frank and sturdy natures of their Anglo-Saxon forefathers. These "socmen," however, in the legal division of the population, and for judicial purposes, would still be classed as "ceorls," or "two hindmen." Now, it was according to a man's position, as a member of one of these classes of "twelfth hindmen," "six hindmen," or "two hindmen," that his oath in support of the innocence or guilt of an accused person was valued at the trial. The oath, indeed, of a King, or that of a Bishop, was considered of itself conclusive of the question; but a "twelfth hindman's" oath was worth the oaths of two "six hindmen;" and the oath of a "six hindman" equivalent to the oaths of three "two hindmen."

According as the aggregate value of the oaths, thus estimated, preponderated on either side of a trial, the innocence or guilt of the accused was established; so that a sort of judicial arithmetic settled the question.

Again, the punishments of Anglo-Saxon times were usually pecuniary. Even murder was atoned for by money; and the lives of the different members of the community were valued in money according to their respective rank as described above. Thus, the life of a "twelfth hindman" was valued at 12,000 shillings; that of a "six hindman" at 6,000 shillings; whilst the estimate of a "ceorl's" life rose no higher than 200 shillings. This price of a man's life was called "Weregild," which his slayer would be obliged to pay.* The amount of the "weregild" was given to the kinsfolk of the slain man, in commutation for the vengeance which they would otherwise have taken on the slayer, like the "avenger of blood" according to the law of Moses. If, after receiving the compensation of "weregild," any of the murdered man's relatives still proceeded to take the life of the murderer, the relative would have to pay "weregild" for the murderer's life. Hence, this law of "weregild" appears to have been intended, not only to check murder in the first instance, but also the retaliatory act. Practically, it would often be a matter of consideration with a man meditating a deed of blood, and prepared to pay the "weregild," whether the relatives of his intended victim would be able to pay "weregild" for murdering him in revenge; and the decision of this question might determine him to the commission or omission of the deed. In fact, murder was a crime which might be perpetrated with comparative impunity by those who could afford this indulgence of their malignity. Besides this "weregild," a fine, or "wite," was also paid to the King for murder, as for other offences. Indeed, it appears that, for burglary or robbery, the "wite" extended to a forfeiture of all the criminal's property to the King, as is now the case in felony. A criminal who was unable to pay a "weregild," or "wite," was invariably reduced to the rank of a "theow"—a miserable condition; from which, however, he might be ransomed by his kindred within the space of a year.

Trials among the Anglo-Saxons were conducted in the following manner before the shire-mote and the hundred-mote; and of course proceedings of a similar kind, *mutatis mutandis*, went on before the hall-mote and the borough-mote. It appears that on judicial occasions the shire-reeve presided at the hundred-mote. As soon as this body had assembled (and the same held good with respect to the shire-mote), the shire-reeve, with the twelve eldest thanes (the number varied, but it was usually either a measure or multiple of the favourite number twelve) went out to inquire into all offences committed within the jurisdiction of the "mote," having first been sworn "not to foresay (*i.e.*, present) any one who was innocent, not to conceal any one who was guilty." We may, in passing, observe that here we evidently have the origin of our grand jury, which is composed of twenty-four of the principal freeholders of the shire, and before which every criminal case is brought before it can come to trial, the grand jury simply ascertaining whether there are sufficient grounds to sustain on a trial the charge brought against the prisoner. If the grand jury find that the grounds are sufficient, they, as the phrase is, "present a true bill against him;" if not, they are said to "ignore the bill," and the prosecution is dropped. However, in Anglo-Saxon judicature, on their mere presentment of an accused party as guilty, he was often condemned at once by the hundred-mote, or shire-mote, as the case might be. If, however, doubts still existed of his guilt, his plea of "not guilty" was admitted, and his hlaford, or lord (if he were subject to one) was called upon to speak to his character upon oath.

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* In many cases, the amount of a man's "weregild" would be his fine for an offence against the law.

The effect of the lord's oath upon the issue of the case will be presently seen in the course of the trial. The accused was then at liberty to prove his innocence, either by the "purgation" of "lada," or swearing, or by the ordeal of fire or hot water. Of this ordeal it is not my purpose to speak, except to mention that it ceased not long after the Norman Conquest, when the trial by wager of battle came to be substituted for it. In the purgation by lada or oath the accused began by calling upon God to witness his innocence of the crime laid to his charge. He then brought forward his "compurgators," or, as they were also called, his "oathsmen," who, after hearing the testimony brought against him, swore, if they thought proper, that "they believed his oath to be upright and clean." It was required that these compurgators should be his neighbours, or, at least, resident within the jurisdiction of the court or mote before which the trial took place, that they should be freeholders who never had been arraigned for theft or convicted of perjury, and who were then acknowledged by all present for "true men." The number of these compurgators varied according to the custom of the district. It was usually either twelve, or a multiple of twelve; but it was always increased, if the testimony of the lord, given, as I have mentioned above, to the character of the accused, were wanting, or proved unfavourable. If the oaths of the compurgators, valued, as above-mentioned, by the social rank of the persons, preponderated in his favour over the oaths of the accusers, he was acknowledged as innocent of the crime; if they were overbalanced by the oaths on the contrary side, his guilt was considered as proved; or, if the persons, whom he had brought forward to be his compurgators, refused, after hearing the evidence, to make the above-named oath to their belief in the truth of *his* oath, their mere refusal was regarded as conclusive of his guilt.

In this practice of "compurgation" we have the rudiments, and not much more than the rudiments, of the trial by jury. The terms "oathsmen" and "jurors" are, of course, equivalent, and our jurors give their verdict on oath. Jurors of the present day must be freeholders, or occupiers of a certain amount of tenure, in the shire in which the offence was committed, and their number is twelve. It appears that in Anglo-Saxon times it was usually required that the oathsmen should be of the same hundred with the accused. This requirement continued in force till the reign of Edward III., when a statute was passed ordaining that not more than six need be of the same hundred with the accused. Afterwards, by a statute of Elizabeth, two only of the same hundred were required to be on the jury. And, lastly, by a statute of George III., the necessity that any of the jurors should be of the same hundred was abolished.

Jurors of the present day are sworn judges of the fact; in those days they were rather sworn witnesses for the prisoner, or something between witnesses and judges, for it was after hearing the evidence that they either made, or simply refused to make, oath, in support of the prisoner's oath that he was not guilty. The oaths of the compurgators in the prisoner's favour were tantamount to the "not guilty" of our juries; their refusal to swear to his innocence was, in effect, equivalent to our verdict of "guilty." In fact, as I before remarked, the compurgators, or oathsmen, were something between witnesses for the prisoner and our modern jurors; and the predominance of either of these two characters would much depend upon the method in which the compurgators were elected, which differed in various districts of Anglo-Saxon England. Sometimes they were chosen by the prisoner himself, in which case they would be rather witnesses for him, as they would, notwithstanding that they had heard the evidence, be probably biassed in his favour, being his own friends. In other districts they were chosen by lot, or by the court, from among the freeholders of the hundred, just as in our days the jurymen are chosen by the sheriff from among the freeholders and others of the shire; in which case the ancient oathsmen more nearly resemble our jurymen. The resemblance of this mode of trial with our own will appear the greater from the fact that the oathsmen were taken from the class, whether of ceorls or eorls, of which the accused was a member. This practice of the trial of a man by his equals was one of those ancient institutions for which, under Norman rule, the English people persevered in contending, and we find that they secured an express guarantee in the clause of Magna Charta, which provides that no freeman shall be punished, except "*per judicium parium.*"*

I need hardly say that this practice has continued without interruption to the present day.

As in Anglo-Saxon days, our whole population is legally classified into the nobility and commonalty; and, while the nobility or lords are tried, for felonious crimes at least, by none other than their peers the lords, all other members of the community are tried by a jury of commoners. It may also be observed that, of the practice by which the accused party often chose his own oathsmen, we seem to have some trace remaining in the power possessed by a prisoner to "challenge," that is, to reject, a certain number of the jury as prejudiced against him.

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* Some writers, however, interpret these words as having reference to trials in the Baronial Courts.

Trial by jury grew into the present exact and regular form gradually in the course of centuries after the Norman Conquest; but it is plainly derived from the old Anglo-Saxon method of compurgation.* As the validity of oaths was the keystone of the judicial system of the Anglo-Saxons, they wisely guarded the sanctity of an oath by treating perjury as a crime of the most heinous kind. A perjurer was classed with witches, murderers, and the worst members of society.

I shall now briefly speak of the tenure and incidents of landed property among the Anglo-Saxons, as some traces of their customs in this matter have continued to our days. All the land in the kingdom, excepting the royal and ecclesiastical property, was divided into "folcland" and "bocland." "Folcland" was land held in common by the "folk" or people of a district; and of this tenure of land we have at the present day considerable remains in the *commons*, as they are termed, or pasture lands which belong *in common* to all the inhabitants of certain parishes. "Bocland" was land granted away from the common stock by the King and his Witan to particular persons for their private property; and it was so called from having been conveyed by "boc" (book) or written grant. Bocland was forfeited to the Crown by the owner's treachery or even cowardice in war, as well as, apparently, by some other delinquencies.

Various services or payments were attached to the tenure of land. Those which most commonly, indeed almost universally, prevailed, were the following three, comprised under the name of *trinoda necessitas*:—

1. *Military service.*—Every owner of land was obliged, according to the extent of his possessions, to provide for the equipment of so many fighting men.

2. *The construction and reparation of bridges*, to which all landholders had to contribute in proportion to their property.

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* Some legal antiquarians refer the origin of trial by jury to Norman times.

3. *The building and repairing of fortifications and walls* for the defence of the country.

In our own day, while the first and third of these charges fall on the general taxation of the country, the second still remains as a burden on landed property, and is provided for by rates levied in each shire by the Court of Quarter Sessions. While this threefold charge was attached to the possession of land in all cases but the very rare one of special exemption from military service, it appears that, according to the circumstances of the tenure, there were often other dues from landed property. The most essential part of the feudal system prevailed, though how extensively we know not, in the Anglo-Saxon times. Even the term "vassal"—in Latin, *vassalis*—appears in several of their remaining documents. Consequently, many of the services and dues, and certainly the heriot or fine, which accrued when any heir succeeded to a property held under a lord, were payable by those who held land under this kind of tenure. I may mention that the "heriot" still continues to be paid to the lord in many manors throughout the country.

There were also dues attached to land for the repairs of ecclesiastical buildings; and to this fact we may trace the origin of our church-rates, which are a tax levied on all the holders of property in a parish, for the maintenance of the parish church and the expenses incident to divine service.

The custom of gavelkind, or the equal division of landed estate among the sons of the deceased owner—a custom derived, as we may gather out of Tacitus, from the ancient Germans—prevailed in some parts of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, and we find it in force at the present day in Kent. Another custom of inheritance, which still continues in certain localities, especially within the limits of Sussex, obtained in various districts of Anglo-Saxon England—the custom of "Borough English"—according to which the *youngest* son of a family inherited the whole of a landed estate—a strange law, which nothing can have perpetuated amongst us but that extreme attachment to antiquity which has always distinguished our race.

Before closing this sketch of Anglo-Saxon England, I shall devote a short space to the manners, habits, notions, and sentiments of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, calling especial attention to the strong "family likeness" in all these points, which may be observed in the character of their descendants, who form the mass of the English nation.

The Anglo-Saxons appear to have been marked by a truthfulness, simplicity, and frankness, of speech and dealing. Their regard for oaths, on the validity of which their judicial proceedings so greatly depended, as we have seen, is an argument for their veracity; and the severe penalties with which they fenced round the sanctity of an oath must have greatly tended to strengthen this point of their character. Their legal processes were devoid of that chicanery and artifice which the more subtle Normans introduced into the courts of law; and their public policy contrasted in the same way with the duplicity and ill-faith of their Norman conquerors. It is no undue self-laudation to ascribe to their descendants, the English people, in an eminent degree, the same qualities of truthfulness, straightforwardness, and honesty; nor is it to cherish too sanguine a confidence if we express the hope that no refinements of advanced civilization, no conventions of an artificial state of society, may impair this great moral strength and ornament of our nation.

We may notice, also, as characteristic of the Anglo-Saxons, a social, genial temper, and generous habits of hospitality. This part of the picture has its darker shade, for it must be admitted that their convivial habits too often degenerated into an excess and grossness which strongly contrasted with the temperance and refinement of the Norman invaders, and which earned the contempt of the latter. The good and bad qualities of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in this respect may be said to have their full representation in the England of the present day.

But there is a native quality of the ancient English people, which is liable to no drawbacks in our estimate, which happily distinguishes their descendants at least equally with them, and to which the greatness, the wealth, the prosperity, the political happiness of the English nation are in no small degree to be attributed. The *steady, patient, and persevering character* of the Anglo-Saxons is evidenced by many signal instances in their history, as by their unyielding contests against the invading Danes, in spite of frequent disaster and defeat; by their stubborn resistance to the Norman invaders on the field of Hastings; at Ely, under the brave Hereward; and in many other equally unsuccessful struggles; and still more by the indomitable constancy with which, after their subjugation, and under the greatest discouragements, they adhered to their native language, and cherished the ancient laws and customs of their race, losing no opportunity that was offered of obtaining their restoration, and gradually wresting it, bit by bit, from the divisions and exigencies of the conquering race. To this their steady tenacity of purpose in struggling for the restoration of their ancient laws, we owe our political inheritance—the present liberties and institutions of England.

The commercial spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, which contrasted with the contempt for trade felt under the influence of feudalism by continental nations, and which is so conspicuous a characteristic of their English descendants, is witnessed to by many facts, among which we may mention the world-wide importance which London had even then attained as a port, and the extensive trade carried on with Flanders, France, and Germany—the great wealth in precious metals and other foreign commodities, the products of commerce, which the Normans found in England, and from which they derived an enormous booty—and the Anglo-Saxon law (of Athelstan), by which a merchant who had made three voyages was raised to the dignity of a thane. Associated with this love of commerce, as both a cause and consequence, was the great consideration attached to wealth above the position of mere nobility of birth, which latter was little regarded, except when connected with wealth. Thus, Godwin, Earl of Kent, was the foremost man of his times although he was not of very high extraction.*

Though we have derived from the Normans much more consideration for "blood" than our Anglo-Saxon ancestors appear to have entertained, yet much of their superior respect for wealth characterizes their English descendants, and it is not uncommon to see the large landowner, or the successful trader, in consideration of his wealth, raised to the ranks of the aristocracy.

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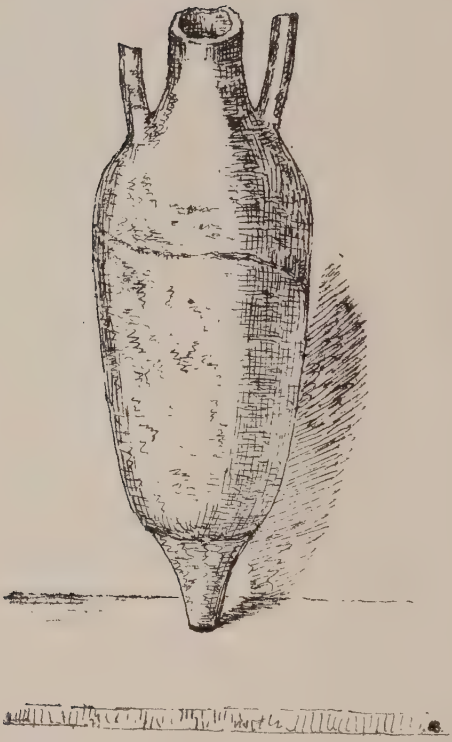
* Indeed, if a ceorl became possessed of about 600 acres, with a church and mansion of his own, he was entitled to the dignity of a thane.



Amphora found at Aston Clinton.

In conclusion, we may say, that in the manners and customs of the Anglo-Saxons we clearly see the original of the character which is impressed upon their descendants at the present day—just as in the Anglo-Saxon language is found the staple of our own language. Though the character of the English people has, of necessity, been somewhat altered by the hand of time, by the infusion of fresh blood, by advanced civilization, extended intercourse with other nations, and the improvements of art, learning, and science, yet many substantial points of resemblance—nay, of identity—may be discerned, on a careful comparison of modern *England* with the *Engleland* of the days before the Norman Conquest.

AMPHORA FOUND AT ASTON CLINTON.—In the spring of 1871, some drainers discovered a Roman Amphora on the Vetches Farm, in the parish of Aston Clinton. It was buried on its side in the large field immediately opposite the farmhouse, about two feet from the surface; it was filled with burnt wood and earth, and is 2 ft. 10 in. in height, and 2 ft. 10 in. in circumference. It, no doubt, originally marked the site of a sepulchre which was close to the junction of the Lower Icknield and Akeman Ways, and was placed near these public ways, either as a warning to the living, or that the dead might benefit by the prayers of the passer-by. Sometimes sepulchres are considered as boundaries in the division of property, particularly in military allotments of land.* The Amphora is in the possession of W. L. Sutton, Esq., Northchurch.

C. L.

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* Douglas's "Nenia Britannica," p. 95.

NOTICES OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF BROWNE WILLIS, ESQ., LL.D.

An Address delivered in substance at the Annual Meeting at Woburn, Beds, July 23, 1872.

By the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., V.P.

Browne Willis deservedly holds a high reputation amongst the antiquaries of Buckinghamshire, and indeed I may say, of England. He was not born in Buckinghamshire, but at Blandford, in Dorsetshire, September 14, 1682. His great-grandfather, Thomas Willis, of St. John's College, Oxford, lost his life in the King's service at the siege there, in 1643. His grandfather was a physician of high repute, who died in 1675, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His father, Thomas Willis, Esq., of Bletchley, married a Dorsetshire lady, the daughter of Robert Browne, Esq., of Frampton. This will probably explain the fact of Browne Willis having been born in that county, and not in Buckinghamshire. Browne Willis received the first rudiments of his education at the Endowed School at Beachampton. Three or four years afterwards he was sent to Westminster School; and it is believed that his visits to Westminster Abbey first inspired him with the love of architecture, just as the beautiful church of Hillesden, near Buckingham, is said to have been the source of inspiration to our great living Buckinghamshire architect, Sir Gilbert Scott, as by the favour of the Queen we are now glad to call him. From Westminster School, Browne Willis removed in due time to Christ Church, Oxford, where he entered as a gentleman commoner at the age of seventeen. He left Oxford without taking his degree, probably on account of the death of his father, which appears to have taken place during his first year's residence at Oxford. His mother died of grief, not long after the death of his father; and they both lie buried in the chancel of Bletchley Church. Before he left Oxford, Browne Willis gave a convincing proof of his growing interest in the pursuits of archæology, by copying out the whole of "Leland's Itinerary," which he had borrowed for this purpose from the Bodleian. In 1705 he was elected M.P. for Buckingham; but parliamentary life did not possess any charms for him, and in three years he gave up this post of honour, and settled down to the pursuit of the more congenial studies of archæology. The family possessions, to the greater part of which he succeeded upon his father's death, were principally at Bletchley, Whaddon, and Bow Brickhill. He built a house called "Water Hall," in the parish of Bletchley; but his chief residence was at Whaddon Hall. In 1705 he married a lady of good family, daughter of Daniel Elliott, Esq., of Port Elliott, in Cornwall, with whom, according to Lipscombe, he had a fortune of £8000. She died October 2, 1724, leaving a family of five sons and five daughters, and was buried at Bletchley. From the time of his giving up parliamentary life until his death, he devoted himself to antiquarian pursuits, and spared no pains to obtain accurate information. As an instance of his industry, it may be mentioned that he visited every cathedral in the kingdom, both English and Welsh, excepting Carlisle, taking their actual measurements and dimensions, copying the monumental inscriptions, and inspecting the libraries. He also obtained a record of all the living dignitaries of the cathedrals, and a vast amount of information besides, relating to these and other foundations. This was a great labour, and speaks much for his zeal and industry. The amount of information that he gathered together on these and other subjects, may be in some degree estimated by the fact that it fills no less than fifty-eight folio volumes, forty-eight quartos, and five smaller volumes of MSS., all of which are now carefully preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Browne Willis was also a great collector of coins. His cabinet contained a large series of tradesmen's tokens, ranging from A.D. 1649 to A.D. 1672. He had also amassed a large number of early English and Saxon coins, and gold and silver of a later date. All these coins Willis gave to the University of Oxford. It is, indeed, on record that the University thought it right to pay him the value in weight of the gold coins, and that he actually received £150 for 167 English gold coins. But the other coins were his free gift to the University. This cabinet of coins is still to be seen in the Bodleian, labelled "Numismata Willisiana," with the coins catalogued in his own handwriting.

But Browne Willis was not merely an antiquarian. He was a liberal benefactor to the churches with which he was connected. Bletchley Church, which contains the remains of his father and mother, he largely embellished both internally and externally. He is said to have expended upon this church alone upwards of £1200. We may feel thankful that under the liberal hand of the present rector,* assisted by higher architectural skill, some of the "eccentricities" of Browne Willis's work have been removed, and the Church, one of the finest in the neighbourhood, has undergone a thoroughly satisfactory restoration. Still we must not forget to make allowance for the age in which he lived, or to recognize in him one of those who helped to keep alive the spirit of zeal for the Houses of God at a period when it was almost dormant. We may smile at his taste. But we must consider our advantages compared with his. Had Browne Willis lived in the middle of the nineteenth century, he would have been in the foremost rank of our ecclesiologists and antiquarians.

Within the old parish of Bletchley is the hamlet of Fenny Stratford, now converted into a separate ecclesiastical district. As early as the fifteenth century this hamlet possessed a Chapel, with an endowment for the daily celebration of the Mass. Even at that early period it was a place of some importance. It was on one of the ancient highways of the kingdom, close to the site of the old Roman station of *Magioventum*, to which it may be indebted for its renown. One of the old records states that it had at that time a population of 230 "houseling" people, which may mean either dwellers in houses, or more probably, "hosteling" people, that is, communicants. With this Chapel there was connected a Brotherhood, or Fraternity of St. Margaret's. But the Act for the "Dissolution of Monasteries" dissolved this establishment; and in 1550, or soon after, St. Margaret's was pulled down.

Another church was built on the same spot, but this fabric perished in the Civil Wars; and in the early days of

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* Rev. W. Bennitt, M.A.

Browne Willis, Fenny Stratford was still without a Church. It was just the case to attract the sympathies of Browne Willis; so he resolved to rebuild the Church there, and for this purpose he first possessed himself of the site on which St. Margaret's had stood. He then spent six years in efforts to raise the needful funds for the building. The plan of the little Church was furnished by a country builder, named Wing, resident at Aynhoe, near Brackley; and it must have been a curious design. The builder was anxious to ornament the roof externally with what he called a "kupalo on a hexagon;" but with this Browne Willis dispensed. He also altered the builder's plans in other important respects; and between them they at length produced what was then considered, no doubt, an elegant structure. It consisted simply of a nave and a tower; to which was added a small south aisle in 1823. The Church built by Browne Willis and dedicated to St. Martin, was consecrated May 27, 1730. In building this Church the worthy antiquary had designed not only to provide for the convenience of the inhabitants of Fenny Stratford, but also to furnish a suitable memorial to his grandfather, a celebrated physician, Dr. Willis, whom he commemorated in the following lines:—

In honour to thy Memory, Blessed Shade,
Was the Foundation of this Chapell laid,
Purchased by thee,—Thy Son and present Heir
Owe these three Mannores to thy Art and Care;
For this may all thy Race Thanks ever pay,
And yearly celebrate Saint Martin's Day.

Browne Willis considered the erection of this Chapel "his chiefest and most real worldly comfort and happiness;" and he provided that the event should be commemorated every year on St. Martin's Day, November 11, with Divine Service, and celebration of the Holy Communion. The ceiling of the Church was ornamented with the armorial bearings of benefactors to the building. During the incumbency of the present vicar, Rev. G. W. Corker, this little unique building has undergone great changes and improvements. Under the direction of Mr. W. White, the architect, the small south aisle, added in 1823, has been removed, and in its place has been erected what is now the nave and chancel, to which the original building of

Browne Willis now serves as a north aisle. In this part of the Church are retained all the interesting portions of Browne Willis's work; such as the ceiling with its painted panels, the east window, now placed on the north side near the tower, and the marble slab erected to the memory of the antiquary himself, no longer on the floor, where stood the communion-table of Browne Willis's Church, but placed against the wall at the east end. Upon this slab is the following inscription, which would seem to have been, in part at least, prepared beforehand by the antiquary himself:—

Hic situs est
Browne Willis, Antiquarius,
Cujus Avi æternæ memoriæ
Thos. Willis, Archiatri totius Europæ celeberrimi
Defuncti die Sancti Martini, A.D. 1675
Hæc Capella exiguum monumentum est.
Obiit 3 Die Februarii, A.D. 1760
Ætatis suæ 78.
O Christe Soter ac Judex
Huic Peccatorum primo
Misericors et propitius esto.

In addition to this his "chief work," Browne Willis promoted the rebuilding of the spire of Buckingham Church, and the restoration of the Church of Bow Brickhill, which after a disuse of 150 years, had become ruinous. The former effort was not successful. It may be taken as an evidence of the want of ecclesiastical oversight a hundred years ago, that when Browne Willis contemplated the repair of Bow Brickhill Church, the patron and rector had just agreed together to take it down and dispose of the materials. Browne Willis also took much interest in the cause of education; and in this and his other good works he was warmly supported by his friend Dr. Martin Benson, Rector of Bletchley, who afterwards became Bishop of Gloucester. Willis and he were great friends, Willis always calling him St. Martin. It was said that if Willis had been Pope, he would certainly have canonized him. In January, 1759, the health of Browne Willis, never very strong, was shaken by a severe cold caught by the overturn of his carriage when at a distance from home; and after sinking for about twelve months, he died, February 5, 1760, in his seventy-eighth year; and was buried with much honour in the Church of Fenny Stratford.

Like other men, Browne Willis was not without his defects. He was somewhat irritable, an infirmity to be traced, perhaps, in some degree to his warm feelings, and to his tastes and pursuits which found little sympathy in the age in which his lot was cast. But he was no doubt an eccentric man. He was very peculiar in his dress, and very slovenly. According to the traditionary account of him, he generally wore three or four old-fashioned coats fastened round him by a leather strap, and over all an old blue cloak lined with black fustian. His head-dress was a large slouched hat, over a weather-beaten wig, and his clumsy shoes had been mended until little remained of the original leather. He was not very cleanly in his person. Yet with these drawbacks he had many virtues and excellences. He was remarkably sober and temperate in his habits. He was earnest and regular in his religious duties. He daily assembled his household for family prayers, and seldom omitted to retire to his own chamber in the course of the day for private devotion. He was a regular attendant at Divine Service, both on Sundays and on week days, when opportunity offered; and a constant communicant. He was greatly respected and esteemed by those who knew him well; and in spite of his peculiarities, he left behind him a character for real goodness, which the instinct of mankind seldom fails to recognize where it is really deserved.

His history and character suggest one or two lessons which may not be without their use to us.

I. Though Browne Willis had not the power of a masterly arrangement of the knowledge which he acquired, he has at least earned the great merit of thorough honesty, industry, and accuracy. He was never satisfied with secondhand information, but took pains to verify his facts, and to go to the best sources for this purpose. So the student of archæology may learn from him the great importance of honest industry and painstaking; and of applying the most searching tests to the knowledge gained, before it is accepted as a genuine addition to the common stock of information. It was this habit of patient industry, rather than his clearness of arrangement, or his mastery of his subject, that made Browne Willis what he was.

II. The second lesson to be learnt from the life of our Buckinghamshire antiquary, is that of love and veneration for our parents and progenitors. This excellent virtue was pre-eminent in Browne Willis. His memorial Church at Fenny Stratford was really an obituary to his distinguished grandfather; and the monumental slabs in the chancel of Bletchley Church, mark his deep affection for his father and mother, and his grief at their departure. They show also how he mingled with these pious feelings his devotion to the common Father of all. On the slab over his father's resting-place, we read—

Browne Willis Thomæ filius primogenitus
Dum erga Deum et Parentes pietatem ostendere
conabatur
Et monumentum optimis Parentibus
haud indignum
Erigere voluit Templum hoc
Quo eorum ossa sunt recondita
Anno Salutis reparatum
MDCCV° exornavit.

I believe that family affection tends, in a great degree, to constitute the moral strength of the English people, and to enhance our national renown. If we learn from the life of Browne Willis the great value of patient industry, and of affection for our parents and progenitors, we shall not have pondered it in vain.

"VIARUM ROMANARUM IN AGRO BUCKINGHAMIÆ VESTIGIA."

An Address delivered in substance at Fenny Stratford (Magioventum) July 23, 1872.

By the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., V.P.

TRACES OF ROMAN ROADS IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

There are three or four Roman roads which are indicated to us with tolerable clearness; but with regard to the cross-roads or bye-ways which intersected the island very little is certainly known. The two which can be best traced in this county are the Watling Street and the Icknield Way. The Saxon form of the word Watling is "Guethelinga." It is supposed to derive its name from the "Guethelinga" or Wætlinga, the sons of Wætla, a Saxon chief. It is well known that the Anglo-Saxons, after their occupation of the island, adopted the Roman roads and bridges in every part, and delighted to give to them the names of their own chieftains or deities. Florence of Worcester, in his Chronicle (A.D. 1013), says of the Watling Street—"Omnis populus qui habitabat in septentrionali plagâ Weatlingastreatæ, id est strata quam filii Weatlæ regis ab orientali mare usque ad occidentale per Angliam straverunt." This road evidently had a great fame. Chaucer mentions it as being employed in his time as one of the names of the Milky Way in the heavens—

> "Lo there," quod he, "cast up thyne eye,
> Se yondir, lo, the galaxie,
> The wiche men clepe the milky way,
> For it is white; and some *par fay*,
> Y-callin it han Watlinge-Streete."
>
> *House of Fame*, Book II.

Watlington, Wallingford, Wellingborough, Wellington, and other places, derive their names from hence. This great and famous road runs from the south-east coast of England, from Richborough (Dover) in Kent to London; and from thence, right across the island to Deva (Chester), and so on to Segontium (Caer Seiont), near Carnarvon (one of the most important Roman towns in Wales), and thence into Anglesea, perhaps to Holyhead, following for all practical purposes, the course of the London and North-Western Railway. It enters Buckinghamshire between Fenny Stratford and Dunstable, not far from Leighton Buzzard, and leaves it a little north-west of Stony Stratford, where it crosses the Ouse. The places Fenny Stratford and Stony Stratford, take their names from the road on which they stand, the "strat," "streat," or "street," being derived from the Latin "strata via;" that is, a "spread" or "paved way;" and the word "ford" indicating that the road there crosses a stream, as the Ousel at Fenny Stratford, and the Ouse at Stony Stratford. The Romans took great pains in the construction of their roads. They began with making a deep excavation, the material thrown out forming a mound on either side, on which they erected a parapet. The excavation was then filled up with layers of different materials, of which concrete was one. Above these layers they placed the hardest stones that they could procure, and these were laid in cement. The elevated parapet was useful for those who travelled on foot. Temples and monuments adorned these ways; and the distances were marked on columns of stone. Sometimes the Romans formed double roads, like our double lines of railway, one for those going one way, and one for those going the other. In these cases, the two roads were separated by a parapet paved with bricks, for the convenience of foot passengers. The road from Rome to Ostia, called "Via Portuensis," was so formed. But to return to our Watling Street. In the Roman Itinerary of Antoninus is marked a place or station called "Magioventum" or "Magiovenium," which can be shown by the distances to have been close to Fenny Stratford, a little south of it, at a place now called "Old Fields." Many Roman and other coins have been found at this spot on either side of the road; and this confirms the general tradition and belief that there was here at one time an important Roman station. This road will at once arrest the attention of the traveller by its straightness.

The other road to which I have referred, the "Icknield Way," was originally a British road. It derives its name from the Iceni, a Celtic tribe, who inhabited the eastern parts of the island, which now comprehend Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and portions of other counties. This Icknield Way, corrupted in Buckinghamshire into the "Hacknell" or "Acknell" Way, was really the way of the Iceni, and was afterwards utilized by the Romans, and converted by them into one of their highways. For this reason it lacks the characteristic straightness of an original Roman road. It does not run in a straight line like the Watling Street, but winds about, so as to keep, wherever possible, upon the higher ground, as may be seen in Buckinghamshire, where it runs along upon the shoulders of the Chiltern Hills by Ivinghoe (near which it enters the county), Pitstone, Wendover, Ellesborough, Little and Great Kimble, the Risboroughs, and Bledlow. It finally leaves the county near Chinnor. In its course from the east it strikes the Watling Street at Dunstable (Durocobrivæ), near which are the remains of both a

Roman camp and a British stronghold. We thus see the courses of the Watling Street and the Icknield Way. As the Watling Street seems to have been the great highway of communication across the island from the south-east to Deva (Chester), and so on westward into Anglesea; so the Icknield Way seems to have been intended to connect the corn fields and grazing lands of the east, with the mining districts of the south-west. It runs from the east coast right across the country south-west, until it touches the mines in the far west of England. And so it seems to have been the means of communication between the corn and cattle of the east, and the mineral wealth of the south-west. It is to be noticed that at Streatley, in Berkshire, it divides into two branches, both of which, however, appear to lead ultimately into Devonshire and Cornwall. Beyond these two great trackways, which cross one another near Dunstable, not long before they enter this county, our knowledge of the ancient Roman roads is limited and uncertain. The "AKEMAN STREET" is supposed to have entered the county near Tring, in Hertfordshire, and so to have passed through Aston Clinton and Aylesbury to Bicester. But about the course of this road authorities differ. It was, perhaps, a more northerly branch of the Icknield Way. It is said to have derived its name from its being the road along which Akemen (aching men) passed, for the benefit of the waters of Bath (Aquæ Solis). At all events, one of the Saxon names of Bath was Akemannes-ceaster, or the city of invalids. Another road, which has some claim to notice, is called the FOSS-WAY (via fossata), so called apparently because it was never completed; that is to say, the excavation was made, but the road was not finished. This road is believed to have run northwards to Lincoln from Cornwall. In mentioning this road, I may say that there is some reason for supposing that there was a cross or branch road from Stony Stratford to Water Stratford, both in this county. A line drawn between these two places would pass through Foscote, the "cot" or village of the "via fossata;" perhaps an unfinished cross-road. The ERMYN STREET, a corruption of "Eormen," one of the chief Anglo-Saxon divinities, was supposed to run from St. David's to Southampton. Some good authorities, however, are of opinion that this road ran northwards from Pevensey through London and the great Yorkshire towns to the south-east of Scotland. In this brief notice of the Roman roads, I ought not to omit to notice the true position of the Roman station called Lactorodum or Lactodorum. Camden takes some pains to show that its site is Stony Stratford; "lacto," according to him being the Latinized form of "leach," an old British word signifying a heap of stones; and "rodum," being also the Latin form of "ryd," a ford. But unfortunately for him, the word as given in the old Itineraries, which apparently he had not consulted, is not Lactorodum, but Lactodorum, which at once disposes of his ingenious but somewhat fanciful theory. I believe that the more trustworthy evidence of the distances would remove the site of Lactodorum into Northamptonshire, probably near to Towcester. I will only repeat that considerable doubt rests upon the courses and the termini of other Roman roads, such as the Ryknield Street, the Portman Way, etc.; and I will not, therefore, hazard any conjectures concerning them. It is enough for us that two well recognized Roman highways pass through our county, the one of interest as an original Roman road, and the other no less interesting as an adopted British highway—the origin of which reaches far back into the remotest history of the island.

Proceedings of the Society, 1872.

The annual meeting and excursion took place on Tuesday, July 23rd. The place of meeting was Bletchley, and the route taken was through Fenny Stratford, Simpson, Wavendon, Woburn, Little and Great Brickhill.

Bletchley Church is a handsome structure, and was restored in the year 1856. It is dedicated to St. Mary, and is in some parts of as early a date as the 11th century. In it is the monument of Richard, Lord Grey de Wilton, who died at Water-Hall in 1442, and was buried here with his son and grandson. The effigy was repaired and re-cut by Weston the statuary, at Browne Willis's expense. At the foot of the effigy is a helmet which is said to have belonged to Lord de Grey.

The party proceeded to Fenny Stratford, and visited Browne Willis's Chapel, for the particulars of which, see page 151.

The party then visited the site of the old Roman Station on the Watling Street, and inspected a number of coins which had been found there. The

Venerable Archdeacon Bickersteth gave an address on "Viarum Romanarum in agro Buckinghamiæ vestigia," which has been printed in the present number of the RECORDS, page 154.

The party then moved on to Simpson. The church is in a very dilapidated condition, but steps are being taken to restore it, and the lay impropriator has offered to rebuild the chancel.

The church of Wavendon was next visited. It was restored in 1849 at an expense of about £4,000, the cost of the restoration of the Chancel being borne by the Rector, the Rev. H. Burney.

The drive from Wavendon through Woburn Sands to Woburn, was very picturesque, and was much enjoyed by the whole party. They visited the two new churches—one at the Sands and the other at Woburn, built by the late Duke of Bedford, after designs by Mr. H. Clutton, Architect.

Luncheon was provided at the Bedford Arms, at which the Archdeacon presided, the vice-chair being taken by the Rev. C. Lowndes. After luncheon the annual meeting was held. The following list of candidates having been proposed and seconded at a committee meeting were unanimously elected :—Rev. W. Bennitt, Bletchley; Eustace Grubbe, Esq Holland Park, London; Rev. H. F. W. Ralph, Little Horwood; A. H. Cocks, Esq., Great Marlow; T. A. Turner, Esq., Whitchurch; Rev. C. L. Alexander, Stewkley; Rev. G. S. Bidwell, Simpson; C. G. Perceval, Esq., Passenham Manor, Stony Stratford; Rev. W. M. Hatch, Warden of St. Paul's College, Stony Stratford; Rev. J. L. Wiglesworth, Castlethorpe; Rev. T. P. Williams, Little Brickhill; Rev. W. P. C. Adams, Fenny Stratford.

All the officers were re-elected. The Rev. C. LOWNDES said that he and his brother secretaries had great pleasure in transacting the business of the Society, which was now in a fairly prosperous condition. The balance in hand on January 1st, was £2 14s. 8d. There was a long list of arrears of subscriptions, which he trusted would soon be paid, to meet the present liabilities. Mr. Lowndes added that the Archdeacon had kindly promised to give them an account of the life and character of Browne Willis, so many of whose works they had seen in that day's excursion.

The ARCHDEACON said he had much pleasure in complying with the request of Mr. Lowndes. On occasions like this it was not at all desirable to enter upon lengthy disquisitions, and he was not quite sure whether going through the process of reading formal papers was always an advantage. They had often been favoured with most excellent papers, which were valuable additions to their BUCKS RECORDS, but it was doubtful whether the reading of them in the course of an excursion day could secure for them the attention they deserved. Perhaps a few words spoken under the influence of the moment might be of more interest than reading a paper.

The account of Browne Willis given by the Archdeacon has been printed in the present number of the RECORDS, page 148.

Rev. H. BULL rose and proposed the health of the Archdeacon, with thanks to him for his very interesting and instructive lecture. They were indebted to him not only on this occasion, but at every meeting that took place, as he was extremely zealous in their cause, which he never deserted, and the prosperity and good work of the Association very much depended on him. The allusion of the Archdeacon to the numerous volumes now in safe custody at the Bodleian, reminded him of the importance it was that they should be studied by every archæologist, and he recommended their study in particular to the secretaries and others who contributed to their RECORDS, and who would find themselves very comfortably placed in one of those cool, old-fashioned nooks in the Library, poring over their contents.

The ARCHDEACON, in acknowledging the compliment which had been paid him, expressed the pleasure he had in rendering any service he could to the Society, though he assured them he got more information in these annual excursions than he could possibly give. It was a great pleasure to him to meet the laity on these occasions, and to see the progress made in the restoration of our churches. Mr. Lowndes had far more to do with the Society than he had, as on him fell the labour of arrangement and organization, without any care or trouble on his part; and the least he could do was to try to support him. He did not know what the Society would do without him. Their thanks were due to all the secretaries, but especially to Mr. Lowndes, and in the name of the company he thanked Mr. Lowndes for the pleasant excursion he had arranged for them, with a hope that his life would be long spared to prepare many more such.

Rev. C. LOWNDES said he had great pleasure in rendering those services to the Society which he had done for so many years, and as long as he remained secretary he would do his utmost to forward its best interests.

The party then returned through Great and Little Brickhill to Bletchley. Little Brickhill, now a decayed village, was once a place of no little importance. Here were held the Assizes and General Gaol Delivery for Bucks between 1433 and 1638, being mentioned as the first town in the County at which the Judges arrived on going the Norfolk Circuit. It is laid down as the Assize Town in Saxton's map, published in 1574. The elections, as well as other county meetings, were also convened here. The register, written on vellum, commences A.D. 1559, and between the years 1561 and 1618 contains the names of 42 persons in the 57 years who "suffered death and were buried," a cross in the margin indicating each case in which the law stepped in. The mode of death is seldom mentioned, though, in a few cases, hanging is stated, and in one burning, the victim in this instance being a woman, one Cecily Revis, who was burned in 1595; the crime is not stated. There are two entries connected with the civil wars; one the burial of a woman, "Agnes Potter, of Dunstable, wounded at the battle of Edge-hill," and the other that of a soldier of the King's Army, who was slain by the Parliament troops, August 27th, 1664. The church, dedicated to St. Magdalene, stands on the brow of a hill, below which runs the Roman Watling Street. It has been repaired at various times, once through the munificence of Browne Willis, and the last restoration it underwent was in 1864. The churchyard was enlarged in 1870, and the new portion consecrated in 1871.

The party next pushed on for Great Brickhill, where they visited the church, dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin, which was restored in 1865. It consists of a chancel with side chapels, a nave with aisles, a south porch, and a tower in the centre. The church contains many marble tablets to the Barton, Pauncefort, and Duncombe families. The company turned into the beautiful grounds of the rector, the Rev. Sir H. Foulis, Bart., which are kept with admirable neatness. They also passed through the pleasure-grounds of the lord of the manor, Sir Philip Pauncefort Duncombe, Bart., which are delightfully laid out, and command a splendid prospect.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY THE REV. J. R. PRETYMAN, M.A.

(*Continued from page* 47.)

No. II.

THE DANES IN ENGLAND.

Read at the Annual Meeting of the Society at High Wycombe, August 5th, 1868.

The Northern people, whom our Anglo-Saxon ancestors called Danes, were of the same race with the people who occupied Normandy. The Danes were natives, not of Denmark only, but of Norway, Sweden, and other countries also adjoining the Baltic Sea. Consequently, their settlements were in part the same with those from which, about four centuries earlier, the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons had sailed for the conquest of Britain. Indeed, these last-mentioned people were of the same Teutonic stock with the Danes, and, though since their establishment in Britain they had undergone various changes, from difference of country, climate, and occupation, and still more from their conversion to Christianity, there was still a strong resemblance in physical appearance, language, laws and customs, between them and their Northern invaders. Originally the two peoples were of the same religion; and it was a feeling of resentment against the Anglo-Saxons, as renegades from the worship of Odin and the other gods of the Teutonic mythology, that, in a great measure, actuated the Danes in their merciless devastation of England. This feeling would account for the special fury with which they fell upon the religious establishments lying in the way of their incursions, insomuch that they destroyed nearly all the monasteries in the land.*

The leaders in the piratical and marauding expeditions of the Danes were usually the younger sons of noble families, whose patrimony consisted of their swords and chiules (keels), with which, when they were of sufficient age, they sallied forth, each accompanied by his band of attached followers, to carve out their fortunes in foreign lands. The plunder of aliens, whether by sea or land, was not only the readiest method of accomplishing this object, but was also regarded by them as a perfectly legitimate proceeding.* They were trained to the use of arms from childhood, and diligently studied the art of war. Accordingly, in their campaigns they exhibited not merely prowess and perseverance, but much military skill besides, as may be observed in their strategy, in the conduct of several of their chief commanders (especially Hasting, the "Scandinavian Hannibal," an antagonist worthy of the great Alfred), and in their expertness in throwing up strong fortifications at well-chosen points in their lines of march. Of these fortifications numerous remains still exist in England at the present day.

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* These houses remained desolate till King Edgar restored them.

The unsparing effusion of blood which marked the incursions of the Danes is accounted for by their belief that it was the most acceptable sacrifice that they could offer to their god Odin: while their reckless bravery was, in great measure, prompted by the belief that death in battle was a sure passport to Valhalla, the paradise of their mythology, where they would pass an eternity of revelry, drinking mead out of the skulls of their slaughtered enemies.

What rendered them the more difficult to cope with in war was, the celerity of their movements in flight as in advance; for with them it was no disgrace to flee, if at least they were able to secure their plunder.

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* This manner of regarding piracy, nay, its estimation as even an honourable profession, seems to be characteristic of the dwellers in islands or on the sea-coast of continents, in an earlier stage of civilization, at least among heathen people. The classical reader may remember Thucydides's statement on this subject, at the beginning of his history:—"The Hellenes of old, and those barbarians who lived near the sea or on islands, after they had become used to cross over to each other in ships, took to piracy, under the conduct of their leading men, with a view to their own gain, and to the maintenance of needy persons. This employment did not involve any disgrace, but rather brought with it some degree of honour." It may, in passing, be observed, that these ancient pirates, in levying contributions for "the maintenance of needy persons," were, in a manner, virtually anticipating the principle of "*compulsory relief*," which forms the basis of our own poor-law system.

There were two distinct periods in Anglo-Saxon history during which the Danes carried on their reiterated invasions of this country.

The first of these periods begins about the year 832, in the reign of Egbert, not long after that monarch had succeeded in reducing the whole of England to a certain degree of unity under his dominion. It ends with the utter defeat of the Danes by Athelstane at Brunnaburgh in Lincolnshire in the year 938, by which that monarch established his full supremacy over the Danish districts of England, and was enabled to assume, instead of his predecessors' more modest title of King of Wessex, that of King of England.

The second period of Danish invasion begins in the year 981, in the reign of Ethelred the Unready, and ends with the establishment of a Danish king over England. In this success the Danes appear to have been aided by the sympathy or indifference of a large portion of the Anglo-Saxon subjects of Ethelred, who had been disgusted with the weakness and misconduct of their king.

The interval, therefore, between the first and second periods of Danish invasion was forty-four years. "The land had rest forty years," or thereabouts. This suspension of their terrible inroads was partly owing to the vigour and ability with which the sceptre of England was then wielded, and partly to the weakness of other countries which then invited their cupidity. The interval of repose which England thus enjoyed was invaluable for the consolidation of the kingdom under one government, and its progress in legislation and the arts of peace.

It was during the first period of their invasions that the great territorial settlements of the Danes in England were effected. Before the year 875 (in the reign of Alfred) their objects had been limited to mere pillage and devastation, with the exception of occupying the Isle of Thanet (like the Anglo-Saxon invaders before them) as a basis of operations, and retaining various posts in different parts of the country. But, in that year, the Danish leader Halfdane seized and divided among his followers, who had come accompanied by their wives and children, the mass of the Northumbrian territory, that is, of the country stretching northwards from the Humber to the Tweed.

This population, settling among the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants, and intermarrying, became in a few generations almost one people with them.

The second great settlement of Danes in England took place in the year following (876) when a large body of Danes, with their families, took and occupied the territory of the "Five Burghs;" that is, of Lancashire, Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham, and Derby, comprising a considerable part of the former kingdom of Mercia.

Their third great colonization was effected by Guthrun and his followers, in pursuance of his treaty with Alfred —a treaty politic on Alfred's part, although he was their victor, as giving inhabitants to a thinly-peopled district, and as identifying the interests of these invaders with the interests of his own people. It should be remembered that the conversion of the Danish chief to Christianity was one of the conditions of the treaty.

The territorial settlement of Guthrun and his followers was defined by Alfred himself, in these words, "Let the bounds of our dominions stretch to the river Thames, and from thence to the water of Lea, even unto the head of the same water, and thence straight to Bedford, and finally along by the river Ouse let them end at Watling Street." Thus, in addition to their former possessions, Essex, East Anglia, and some further extent of the midland country, were secured to the Danish colonists of England.

These three great portions of the kingdom, in which successive bodies of Danes had thus established themselves, soon came to be united into one great division, which took the name of the *Danelagh*, or territory under the *laws* and customs of the Danes. The Danelagh, like the two other great divisions of England, the west Saxonlagh (West Saxon-law) and the Merchenlagh (*Mercian-law*) was recognized as in some respects a separate territory till after the Norman Conquest. It comprised the following fifteen counties: Yorkshire (which is thought to have then included Durham, Lancashire, and the whole or part of Westmoreland), Derby, Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, Northampton, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford, Essex, Middlesex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. This large portion of England, however, was by no means exclusively occupied by the Danes, though in the northern districts their number greatly preponderated over that of the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants.

The fusion of the Danish population with the people around them, a result doubtless anticipated by the enlarged and patriotic mind of Alfred in making his treaty with Guthrun, went on with great rapidity. They were subject to the supreme sovereignty of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, although for a time they continued under chiefs of their own race, called in the ancient chronicles "reguli" (little kings). They were governed according to their own laws and institutions, which however were not very unlike those of the rest of the kingdom, differing from them more in form and detail than in substance and principle. It appears that in the reign of Edward the Confessor one code of laws came to be generally established throughout the realm, so that by the time of the Norman Conquest a complete national unity had been achieved in the country, although the Danelagh still continued to retain some legal customs of its own. By the afore-mentioned treaty with Alfred, the Danes had been placed on an equality in the eye of the law with the Anglo-Saxons, the same amount of *weregild* being assigned to the life of a man of either race.

It is remarkable how quickly the Danish settlers in England threw aside their former ferocious and lawless habits and fell into the peaceful and industrious pursuits and civil life of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. The conversion of the Danes to the Christian religion, which appears to have taken place speedily after their settlement in this country. would tend to humanize their manners, would dispose them to the tranquil habits and occupations of their fellow-subjects, and would not only remove a fertile cause of discord in the difference of religion, but furnish the strongest bond of sympathy and union with the Anglo-Saxon population.

Unlike the Norman Conquerors of England, the Danes, though for a short time, that is to say, twenty-six years, the dominant race, have left no striking impress upon the *laws* and *institutions* of our country. This fact is probably to be ascribed to the similarity of their laws and institutions with those of the Anglo-Saxons.

The only remaining traces which Danish colonization and predominance have left upon the nation are to be found in the effects produced by them upon national character and habits, and, though in a slight degree, on our language. As to the first point, a very little observation will detect, even at this day, a considerable difference between the population of the southern and northern parts of England. This difference is to be accounted for by the prevalence of Danish blood in the latter. The people of the north of England are seen to be generally of larger physical stature, to possess greater energy and boldness of character, more frankness of speech, a more bluff demeanour, and, it may be said, more turbulence of disposition, than the purely Saxon and Jutish population of the south, with their more peaceful, patient, sluggish, and reserved temperament. Hence, as it may be observed, the various civil wars, rebellions, insurrections, and disturbances of our history, down even to recent times, have for the greater part either sprung up in the north of England, or have there exhibited the greatest obstinacy and violence. But to the general character which the great mixture of original races has stamped upon our whole nation, the Danes have evidently contributed some important features.

Among these may be noticed the powerful and permanent impulse given to the seafaring propensities of our people—propensities which, though very widely prevalent in England and its coasts, are even more conspicuous in the north-eastern, the peculiarly Danish, portions of the kingdom. It is evident that by the time of Alfred the Anglo-Saxons, originally, like their Danish invaders after them, a piratical people, had almost entirely abandoned their nautical tastes and habits. Indeed, it was only the continued assaults of the Danes upon our coasts, that led to the formation, by the great Anglo-Saxon Monarch, of a navy for national defence. Nor can it be doubted that these intrepid and skilful navigators, the Danish "Vikings" and their followers, becoming incorporated with the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants, must have greatly enhanced this trait of the national character. To the Danish ingredient of our population has been ascribed that love for all pursuits connected with the element of water—that love for sailing, rowing, boating, fishing, bathing and swimming—for which we are noted above all other nations of the earth. The Danes, too, were fearless horsemen, as well as sailors—and this kind of intrepidity, together with hard drinking and large appetites (though here the Anglo-Saxons appear to have needed no example), are qualities which seem to have descended from them to later days. It may also be mentioned that the formidable excellence in archery, which afterwards distinguished our nation, was owing, in great measure, to the Danes, with whom the bow, little in use among the Anglo-Saxons, was a favourite implement of war. The Normans, also, by whom the bow was used with terrible effect on the day of Hastings, contributed, as well as their kinsfolk the Danes, towards the subsequent excellence of the English people in the use of this weapon.

As regards the second point aforesaid, I mean Danish traces in our language, these are not numerous, as the language was cognate with that of the populations among whom they came to dwell; and, where the languages differed, the Danes appear to have adopted Anglo-Saxon words, instead of the Anglo-Saxons adopting theirs. I may mention here, by the way, that the whole Scandinavian populations then spoke the *same* tongue, of which the modern Swedish and the modern Danish (spoken in Denmark and Norway) are different dialects, but which still survives intact in the language spoken in Iceland.

This Scandinavian language was a branch of the great Teutonic stock, of which Anglo-Saxon was another branch. However, of this language, some traces among ourselves may be observed at the present day. The broad pronunciation of the vowels, which strikes the ear of the educated Englishman, when listening to the vernacular of the north, appears to be a relic of Danish speech. A few words of purely Danish origin are universally current. The modern English plural of the verb substantive—"are"—not an Anglo-Saxon form, is Danish. The familiar word "husting" is Danish; the "house-thing," or assembly, (for in Icelandic, "thing" still means assemblage) held in a house or under a roof, in contradistinction to the open-air meetings for debate, of which, by the way, we have remains in the Shire-motes or County Courts held in Kent on Penenden Heath and on Barham Downs. We have a clear trace of the old Danish language in the form "by," which means "borough." A "by-law" is, therefore, properly a

Borough-law. This word, "by," forms the ending of many hundreds of names of places in those parts of England which were most largely colonized by the Danes, while it is seldom to be found south of Watling Street. Derby is the most southern inland place of importance, of which the name ends with this syllable, a fact significant of the limit within which Danish occupation prevailed.* To the same origin are to be referred the terminations of "toft," or "thorp," which are notoriously peculiar to some districts of England. It is a remarkable fact, that at the present time† a fierce dispute should be going forward in Holstein, on the subject of these same endings of "by," "toft," and "thorp," or "dorp," as indicating the Danish origin of the places to the names of which they are affixed; the party who would "*Germanize*" the Duchy striving for the abolition of these significant syllables, while their Danish adversaries stoutly contend for their retention. "Thwaite," a suffix of names of places found in Cumberland, is of Danish introduction; and the words "beck" for "brook," "force" for "waterfall," "fell" for "hill," all of them words derived from the same source, prevail in the North of England. All of the numerous headlands which have the Scandinavian termination of *ness*, bear witness to the visits of the Danes to our shores. Altogether, there are not more than about forty-five words of Danish origin—among them, the characteristic word, "ship"—which have been incorporated into our language.‡

The speedy amalgamation of the Normans with the population of the conquered island may, I think, be ascribed, in great measure, to the kinship which existed between them and the Danish race.

This consanguinity had been mutually recognized by the two peoples in many instances. Thus it was recognized in the aid which the Danes more than once lent on that score to the Normans, in contending with their feudal sovereign, the King of France. It was recognized again in the pretext, which, among others, the Normans advanced for their invasion of England—that they came as avengers of their kinsfolk the Danes, who had been treacherously massacred on the notorious occasion of St. Brice's day, in the year 1002, under the orders of Ethelred the Unready. The Danish population of England would, in short, act as a connecting link between the conquering Normans and their Anglo-Saxon subjects; and would, as the history of those times seems to show, incline the former to treat with more regard, than they would otherwise have done, the laws and institutions which they found established in this land.

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* It is a curious fact, mentioned in a recent review, that vessels of Grimsby, entering a Danish port at the present day, can claim certain exemptions, on account of the Danish settlement of that town.

† This was written before 1865.

‡ For a list of these words, see an able "Analysis of the English Language," by J. P. Fleming, M.A., B.C.L., published by Longmans.

Such were the Danes in England; such their share in forming our language, and in impressing upon our common country her distinctive character among the nations.

The Norman Conquest—How far a "Conquest."

There is some difference of opinion among historical writers with regard to the degree in which the Norman invasion of England may be considered to have been a conquest, in the accepted sense of the term.

On the one side, it is argued that the Norman invasion involved not only the intrusion of a foreign prince upon the throne of England, and the substitution of his principal followers for the native aristocracy, but, practically, a change of laws and institutions; that in the place of these laws and institutions the feudal system in its full rigour was introduced, and the forest laws also; that it was attended by the dispossession of a large proportion of the original holders of landed property throughout the kingdom, and that the native population were degraded to a state of subjection, and treated with great insolence and cruelty. Thence it is concluded that the Normans effected, in an extreme sense of the term, a conquest over England.

On the other side, it has been alleged that William of Normandy had a valid title to the throne of England by the designation of Edward the Confessor's will, by his kinsmanship with the Confessor, and by the absence of any other claimant who had a better title. For Harold, they would urge, had not been a legitimate king, as not having been of the royal race of Cedric, and Edgar

Atheling, the nearest in kin to the Confessor, had not been accepted, in spite of his partial election, by the nation at large. It is also observed that William already had in England a considerable party by which his claims were favoured, a party created by the Normanizing tendencies of Edward the Confessor, who had established a certain number of Normans in places of authority both in Church and State. The support also which the Pope gave to the enterprise of William of Normandy would range a considerable number of the Anglo-Saxon clergy on his side. It is further argued that some months after the Battle of Hastings a large proportion of the principal men of England voluntarily acknowledged William as King, and were confirmed by him in their possessions; and in particular that the authorities of London agreed to allow his claims and admit him into their City, only upon the express terms of a treaty, which was made at Berkhampstead, in 1067, the year after the invasion, and by which the liberties and privileges of the City of London were guaranteed. The fact also is adduced that in the coronation of William, which was performed at Westminster Abbey by an Anglo-Saxon prelate, Aldred of York, assisted by other Anglo-Saxon dignitaries, the same oath to govern according to the laws of the kingdom was taken by the new king, and the same forms observed, as in the coronation of the previous legitimate successors to the throne; and that in taking this oath William added, of his own accord, an engagement to govern the people as well as any of his predecessors had governed them. Further, it is argued that no essential change was made in the laws and institutions, or of the form of government under which the Anglo-Saxons had lived, but that these survived the Norman rule and even form the basis and substance of our present constitution. On this point it is noticed that in the year 1070, four years after his successful invasion, William appointed a commission composed of twelve men, elected from every shire, to ascertain and report upon oath the laws and customs which had prevailed before the Conquest, and that he enacted, with some amendment and additions, the laws and customs thus verified. It is observed too, on the authority of a contemporary writer, that during his reign he strictly maintained justice between man and man, and so rigorously preserved the peace that "a girl with a purse of gold in her hand might safely traverse the land." It is argued also that the Anglo-Saxon landowners were not in the first instance to any *great* extent deprived of their possessions, but that the great majority retained them, until by rebelling after the submission of the kingdom to the Norman rule they forfeited them in due course of law and justice; and that even thus a considerable number of Anglo-Saxon holders of land appears in the record of Domesday Book. It has also been contended, in conformity with this view, that the term "Conquest" did not necessarily carry the sense which we attach to the word, but that it might indicate a rightful acquisition. From these premises it has been concluded that the attainment of the crown of England by the Norman Duke was a legitimate succession and not a conquest in our sense of the word.

Such, as I have above stated them, are the two extreme views which have been propounded on this subject by historical writers. I will consider the arguments used by those who consider that the Norman occupation was not properly a conquest.

The allegation that William was a legitimate successor to the throne of England, as having been so designated by the Confessor, will not bear examination. No Anglo-Saxon king had the prerogative of appointing his successor without the concurrence of his Witena-gemote, which is not supposed to have been given in this particular instance. Nor will the argument that William derived a claim to the throne from his kinship with Edward the Confessor stand against the fact that there were, besides Edgar Atheling, other nearer relations of the Confessor, whose claims were entirely overlooked. With regard to the voluntary submission of a large proportion of the principal men of the kingdom, and William's occupation of London under the terms of a treaty, we may observe that these facts, although apparently true, are not sufficiently important to invalidate the reality of a conquest. One might as well argue that a fortified town was not taken in war because terms highly favourable and honourable to the capitulating garrison had been granted by the besiegers! Many of the principal men of England, including the chief citizens of London, would gladly make the best of their unfavourable circumstances. Being without a king of their own, around whose standard they might rally against a powerful invader at the head of a victorious force, they would readily accept the most ample terms they could obtain from the invader. That invader, surrounded as he was by a hostile population, would, from obvious motives of policy, be willing to divide his antagonists by granting terms to a portion of them, so as to spare himself and his followers as much risk, loss, and trouble as possible in securing his conquest, and colour his doubtful title with a show of legality.

The existence of a Norman party in England, favourable to William's pretensions, would only aid him in his design of conquest, without proving that his occupation of England was not a conquest. That William submitted to be crowned according to the usual forms and with the usual oaths, may obviously be accounted for by the knowledge which so astute a politician must have possessed, that to keep a conquest over a brave people is a more difficult task than to conquer them, and that any course of conduct, which may soothe their pride and resentment while retaining the substance of power over them, tends to remove the difficulties of that task.

It is urged that no great formal change was made in the existing laws and institutions of Anglo-Saxon England. The feudal system, indeed, was carried out more extensively and rigorously than it had been; yet it had before existed in England. But a new and oppressive code of a particular kind was unquestionably now introduced, called the Forest laws: and the retention of the ancient laws and institutions, was for some time rather nominal than practical, and served, as Selden has observed, "rather for show than use." It restrained neither the Conqueror nor his successors from the most arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings; and, although the Conqueror appears to have suffered none other than himself to exercise illegal domination, yet, under his successors, the ancient Anglo-Saxon laws and institutions presented but very feeble obstacles to the lawless violence of the Norman Barons. These laws and institutions, it is true, survived the Conquest, and afterwards recovered their vigour; but for several generations they were in great measure ineffectual, as may be inferred from the frequent demand of the English people for the *restoration* of "the laws of Edward the Confessor," in other words, of the laws and institutions of Anglo-Saxon times.

The fact that William at first carried out no general or extensive dispossession of the original proprietors, will have little effect in proving that the Norman Conquest was not properly a conquest, if we consider that it was the enormous oppression and exaction practised by the Government and the Barons during William's short absence from England in Normandy in the year after his invasion, that drove the suffering people into open rebellion, and thus enabled the King on his return to confiscate with some show of justice and legality a large portion of the estates of the original holders, for the enrichment of his greedy followers. Surely a people thus treated by an alien race were a conquered people! The appearance of some Anglo-Saxon proprietors in Domesday Book—a record which was compiled in the year 1086, twenty years after the Norman invasion—only shows that the dispossession of Anglo-Saxon proprietors was not quite *universal*, and forms indeed that kind of exception which proves the rule. It must also be considered that the Anglo-Saxon names in Domesday Book probably often represent *inferior* tenants of lands of which they were once *proprietors*. No argument can be drawn from the sense of the term "conquestor," which simply means a person who had acquired something without reference to the way in which it was obtained, whether it were obtained in the way of what we term conquest, or in the way of legitimate succession.

Thus much may be said in answer to those who have denied the attributes of a conquest to the Norman occupation of England, and who on the contrary have regarded it as a legitimate succession to the throne of England, accompanied with no illegal dispossession of the proprietors of its soil, and with but little change of its laws and institutions. In the observations I have made on this view, I have given my implied opinion that the Norman settlement in England was truly a conquest, and at the same time I have indicated how far that conquest extended, and in what manner it was modified. There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that to all intents and purposes it was a conquest, in the accepted sense of the word. That it might have been more fully a conquest may be admitted. That it was not so extreme a conquest as some have contended, would appear from the fact that it was accompanied with a sufficient number of qualifying incidents to give room for the very question whether or not it *was* a conquest. It might have been attended with an entire abolition of the old constitution and laws, with an immediate dispossession of all the landowners, and with the expulsion of the inhabitants or their reduction to a condition analogous with that of the ancient people of Laconia under their Spartan conquerors. It is true that the Conquest of England by the Normans reached not these extreme limits; but that, in the proper sense of the term, it was a conquest, will be clear if we consider that it was effected chiefly by the force of arms, and that it involved the oppressive domination of a foreign ruler and his followers over a reluctant population, and the transfer of the greater part of the soil to their possession.

Titles, Ancient and Modern, Compared.

In Anglo-Saxon times, and for some time after the Conquest, *every title implied a real territorial jurisdiction.* A title was not a mere honour or privilege; it designated a certain function. Thus the Eorlderman (Earl) of Anglo-Saxon days was set over a shire, and was a great magistrate, holding an office in the gift of the King and his "wise men." The ancient Earl answers most nearly to a modern Lord-Lieutenant of a county. His office was not hereditary, any more than the office of Lord-Lieutenant is now; though by the natural tendency of those days the son of the last Earl was very often appointed to succeed him. After the Conquest, the tendency to hereditary succession was greatly strengthened; but, on the other hand, as the power of the Crown increased, the official nature of the Earldom died out, and it gradually became a mere hereditary title of honour. Henry II. is considered to have put an end to the territorial jurisdiction of the Earls of Counties or Shires.

The word "Earl" was the Saxon for "Comes," or in Norman French "Comte," whence our "Count." The

Sheriff (shire-reeve) was his deputy in the government of the shire; in Latin his name was "Vice-comes," "Viscomte" in Norman French, whence our "Viscount."

These earldoms were held by the tenure of military service, *i.e.*, that is by having to attend the King in his wars with so many knights holding under them. The same remarks apply to the barons of such or such a place. Theirs was not an empty title, but implied the possession of the place from which they took their name, jurisdiction over the manor or honour of that place, and tenure by military service.

Gradually, however, as the feudal system became relaxed, the custom arose of the kings giving a title such as Baron or Earl, or as afterwards of Viscount, and still later of Duke, of such a place, without any corresponding jurisdiction over that place, or possession in it. They were then merely *titular* earls or barons *quoad* the place from which they took their title. *This* is the present condition of the English peerage; the members of it, who take their titles from such or such a town or county, are not therewith invested with any jurisdiction or office as regards that town or that county.

Often their titles are not even from any *place* at all, but are simply prefixed to their own family names; like "Earl Stanhope," whose family name is the same, or Earl Russell, whose family name is Russell. So Viscount Nelson. Sometimes when successful generals or admirals are raised to the peerage, they take their titles from foreign localities where they gained their laurels. Thus the Duke of Wellington was Marquis of Douro, from his celebrated passage of the Douro, and Earl St. Vincent was so named from Cape St. Vincent, where he won a naval victory.

The term "Lord" is altered from an old Anglo-Saxon word "hlaford," and is simply a word expressing power or dignity. All Lords are not peers; thus there are our Lords Chief Justice and the Lord Chief Baron, and every judge when on the bench is addressed as "My Lord." So also there are the *Lord* Mayors of London, York, and Dublin.

It may be remembered that the Upper House is called the House of *Lords*, though it is composed of five different ranks, and that all under dukes are usually spoken of as Lord so and so;—thus, the Marquis Camden is usually termed "Lord Camden;" Earl Stanhope, "Lord Stanhope;" Viscount Sydney, "Lord Sydney." We never say "Baron Tracy," or "Baron Chesham," always "Lord," etc.

Bishops are, of course, all "My Lords." They sit in the House of Lords by virtue of their baronies, *i.e.*, the temporalities of their sees, which they are considered as holding from the Crown, and for which on their appointment they always go through the old feudal ceremony of "doing homage" in person to the Sovereign; nor can they enter upon their temporalities (*i.e.*, their palace and revenues) until they have "done homage."

The judges of the courts of Westminster (*i.e.*, the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Court of Exchequer) used, it appears, in former days to sit and vote with the Lords. But they have long ceased to have any vote in that House—they simply sit in it, and may be at any time, as they sometimes are, called upon by the House of Lords to give their opinion on some point of law on which the House desires to be informed, and they are bound by their office to give their opinions on the point referred to them.

ANCIENT TITLES OF HONOUR.

The titles of honour under the feudal system all show by their derivation that they implied *duties* or *offices*. Thus, "Duke" is from "dux," leader, through the French "duc." "Marquis" meant warden of the *marches* or frontiers, the protection of which from hostile attacks was a post of danger and difficulty, and therefore of honour, in those turbulent times. "Count" is from "comes," a title borrowed from the later Roman Empire, where certain grandees of the court were termed "comites," as being in attendance on the Emperor, by whom they were employed on important missions, such as the government of districts, etc. "Viscount" is vice-comes, deputy of the "comes." "Baron" comes through Norman French, and is believed by some to have originally meant a "man,"* indicating that the person so called was the "man" or subordinate of another in the gradation of feudal ranks. It was common to speak of an inferior as "the man," or the "liege-man," of his feudal superior, and the term "doing homage" (from "homme") is derived from this signification of the word "homme," a man.

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* This etymology is much questioned, but it is as likely as any other.

The word "Knight" originally meant "servant," and in the feudal system it meant one who held under a baron by military *service*. The Latin of "Knight" in the feudal sense is "miles," soldier, a word sufficiently indicative of a function.

We must distinguish between the sense of the word "Knight" as a *feudal* term, and its sense as a term in *chivalry*. In chivalry, it was a term of honour only, and a king or a noble of the highest rank was proud to be a knight in the chivalric sense of the word. Besides knights of chivalry in a general sense, there came to be knights of *orders* in chivalry, like the garter. There were two crusading orders of knights—the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. They were a kind of military monks, associated for the delivery of the Holy Land from infidels and for the succour of pilgrims, and bound by monastic vows. Chivalry itself came in about the time of the Crusades, as did the science of heraldry and the general use of armorial bearings and devices.

Returning to the titles under the feudal system, we may observe that, with the exception of "Lord," they all came in with the Normans. The Normans had borrowed them from the French, whose manners, language, and institutions they adopted immediately after their first settlement in Normandy, A.D. 912. The institutions of the French came partly from Charlemagne, the great Frankish Emperor, who took much from the institutions of Rome under the later Empire.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—KNIGHT SERVICE.

I propose in this paper to give some account of the Feudal system in its military aspects. This system in its primary conception, as organized in England by the Conqueror, was a kind of armed occupation of a *conquered* *country.* Each Baron's or Knight's residence was a fortress with a garrison in it, and a body of military tenants dwelling around it, ready to take up arms at the summons of their Lord. The King was the chief feudal Lord, or, as he was, and still is, called, the "*Sovereign* Lord." Under him Barons held fiefs or feuds—in Latin the terms are "*beneficia*" or "*feuda*"—and when the King called out his Barons, they called out the Knights who held under them, and the Knights in turn called out their military dependents, so that an army was quickly set on foot in readiness for the field. When the King or any other feudal superior granted a fief or fee to an inferior, the new vassal *swore fealty* (*i.e.*, fidelity) to him, in a set form of words, and did *homage* to him as owing him subordination, in order that he might obtain the possession, or, as it was called, the "investiture," of the tenure. The following was the usual form of doing homage. Unarmed and bare-headed, and upon his knees, and with his hands placed within those of his lord, the new vassal repeated these words, "Here, my lord, I become your liege man of life and limb and earthly worship, and faith and truth I will bear to you to live and die. So help me God." This ceremony was concluded with a kiss, and the "man" (for such was his name), was thenceforward bound to respect and obey his lord, the lord to protect the "man," and to warrant him the possession of his fee. But in England, William the Conqueror wisely made an alteration in the words of the oath. Sub-tenants, that is, persons holding under the King's *tenants in capite*, as his immediate tenants were called, or holding under others below them, swore to be true to their respective lords against all men but the King and his heirs.

After the ceremony of homage the vassal received in due form the investiture of his fee, and was thenceforward bound to render to the lord *the suit and service* attached to it.

It must be borne in mind, as a fact explaining some of the incidents of feudal tenure, that originally, and in its first intention, a fief or fee was not of an hereditary nature, and that at the death of the holder, the tenure reverted to the disposal of the lord. The reason of this provision is obvious; for, as military service was the purpose for which the fief was granted, that purpose would be defeated, if a person incapable of such service should succeed to the fief. Nevertheless, in process of time, fiefs became for the most part hereditary. Feudal tenants would naturally wish to be succeeded by their children. The children would, of course, wish to be their fathers' successors, and feudal superiors would from favour or kindness, or weakness, or even policy or interest, be often willing to grant fiefs to the representatives of the former holders. Thus a fief gradually became an hereditary tenure. But still there continued all along some assertion and recognition of the original life-tenure of a fief.

Thus, when a feudal tenant died, his next heir was obliged to make formal petition to be admitted to the tenure. It became a matter of course that he should be admitted; but he was obliged to pay a sum of money for his admission. This payment was an important incident of feudal tenure. It was technically termed a RELIEF, from the Latin word, "*relevare*" (to take up again), as being paid when the heir *took up* the fief held by the former tenant. The amount of the relief was at first determined purely by the will of the lord; but in process of time it came to be a customary sum. The question, in fact, of the amount of reliefs was a fertile source of dispute between the lord and his tenants. It was so in particular between the king in this country and his feudatories, and forms the subject of one of the provisions of Magna Charta, which regulates the amount of reliefs to be paid to the King.

Another vestige of the original non-hereditary nature of fiefs was this, that if a tenant died while his heir was a minor, the king or other feudal superior took upon himself the care or *wardship* of the minor, and received the proceeds of the fief till the minor came of age. This *wardship* also gave rise to disputes between the King and his feudatories.

But if the feudal tenant left only a female heir, she was obliged, in order that she might succeed to the fief, to take for a husband the man whom the superior lord might choose for her. It was usual to give her the choice of three whom the lord presented to her. If she refused to marry any one of them, she was obliged to forfeit the fief, or she might be permitted to pay the amount of money which her husband, had she married one of the men whom the lord had named to her, would have had to pay to the lord. This was called the feudal incident of *marriage.*

If a tenant wished to alienate either the whole or a part of his fief, he was obliged to obtain the consent of the lord under whom he held, by paying him a sum of money called a *fine.* The amount of these *fines* was a frequent matter of dispute between the kings and their feudatories, and, no doubt, between other feudal lords and their tenants.

If a feudal tenant died without an heir, the fief reverted wholly to the lord. This reversion was called an escheat. The fief was said to "escheat" to the lord. The word is probably derived from the old French verb "*escheoir,*" to fall.

If a tenant failed in his fealty or duty to the lord, he would be deprived of his fief. This deprivation was called *forfeiture,* (*foris factura,* in law Latin).

There were various payments also made to the lord by his tenants on various occasions. These payments were called *aids.* The occasions on which they were to be paid depended on agreement and custom, and were a great subject of dispute between our kings and their feudatories. In Magna Charta we find that the occasions on which *aids* were paid were limited to the three following: 1, When the king's eldest son was knighted; 2, when his eldest daughter was married; 3, when he was to be ransomed from captivity.

The chief incidents, therefore, of feudal tenure were, besides Fealty, Homage, and Service, the following:—1, RELIEFS; 2, WARDSHIPS; 3, MARRIAGE; 4, FINES; 5, ESCHEATS; 6, FORFEITURES; 7, AIDS.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.—TENURE BY SOCAGE AND VILLAINAGE.

Besides tenure by knight's service, which was the chief and more honourable part of the feudal system, there was the tenure by "socage," that is, by services of husbandry, or of a menial nature. The probable derivation of the word gives an idea of the nature of the services in question; for "*soc*" in French means a ploughshare. A great variety of classes, and of subdivisions of classes, were comprehended under the generic term of socmen, or tenants in socage. It will be sufficient to say that these classes ranged from those who held in "free socage," and were like farmers of the present day, paying rent in kind or money as their *service*, down to the holders in "villain socage," who had small tenements, and performed minor acts of service or labour towards the lord.

There were two great divisions of the villains, or holders in villain socage—*villains regardant* and *villains-in-gross*. The "villain regardant" was attached to the manor, and could only be alienated with it; the *villain-in-gross* was attached to the person of the lord, and could be transferred from one lord to another. The name of "villain" is derived from the word "villa," the demesne of the lord. Among the villains regardant there were several classes—the "boors," who approximated most nearly to free socage-men; the *bordarii*, from the Saxon word "bord," a cottage; the "cotmanni" or "cotarii," who held cottages from the lord, paying rent or doing services to their lord. Between the "bordarii" and the "cotmanni," the shade of difference, if there were any difference, is indiscernible.

Whether or no the villains-in-gross included the most degraded class in the community,— the bond-men and bond-women, who are called in Domesday Book "servi" and "ancillæ"— is not clear. Among these servi and ancillæ, there were included farm-labourers, shepherds, ploughmen, dairymaids, and the like. It is thought by some, that the villain-in-gross was distinguished from this order by being connected with a tenement, however small, while the bondmen had not that privilege, but was wholly dependent on the lord for abode and subsistence.

It is remarkable how rapidly, in the course of the history of feudal times, the condition of the villains and bond-class was improved. By the time of Henry VII., villainage-in-gross and serfdom were almost entirely extinct. The last instance of the sale of a villain or serf occurs in the reign of Queen Mary, and is so singular as to mark the obsolete state of the institution of villainage-in-gross and serfdom. It is the "exception that proves the rule," just as the discovery of a solitary swallow in winter is an argument that swallows migrate before it, as, if they did not, many more swallows than one would be found in that season.

The complete, and, as it would appear, rapid disappearance of villainage-in-gross, or serfdom, is difficult to be accounted for, as no act of the legislature interposed to abolish it.

We may suppose that the influence of Christianity and the authority of the Clergy, who in feudal days were the great patrons of the poor, helped greatly towards this end; for it was not an uncommon practice for lords, as an act of penitence or of charity, to liberate men of this class, especially by their last wills.

It would appear also, that the Barons, in contending with the King, called in the aid of the lower classes, and repaid that aid by allowing them to rise from their original low condition.

The law, too, and its ministers did much to protect them from oppression, to elevate them from their abject condition, and to free them from entire dependence upon the will of their lords, in regard to the duration of their tenures and the extent of their services.

The increase of civilization would also naturally tend to elevate the condition of the villains and serfs, by humanizing their masters, and inspiring these lower classes themselves with the desire and determination to rise from their depressed condition. The two great risings of these classes, the one in the reign of Richard II., and the other in that of Henry VI., evidently were efficacious in promoting their emancipation.

But of the effect and consequences of these insurrections, I propose to speak more fully at a later part of this work.

Decay of the Feudal System.

The feudal system remained in its vigour in England so long as the conquering race were compelled to keep down by force of arms a reluctant and mutinous population, who were galled by the freshness of the yoke. But when resistance was now at an end, and as the two nations began first to live together in something like harmony, and then to be fused into one nation, and social life resumed its usual tranquil tenour, the chief object for which the feudal system, in its military aspect, existed, began to cease. The decay of that system accordingly set in. The only purpose which it could now serve was foreign war; but for this purpose it was extremely unsuited. The Baron was bound to serve no more than forty days in each year—other tenants, by knights' service, were bound for certain limited periods, according to the extent of their tenures; and thus, if the war continued, as it might easily continue, for a longer time in the year, the feudal array might melt away when it was chiefly wanted. Again, as the habits of men became more peaceful, and their energies were turned to the pursuits of civil and domestic life, they would be more and more unwilling to answer the frequent calls of their sovereign to the field; and, as they became less on the alert and kept themselves less in readiness for war, they would lose much of their martial discipline, and would be inferior in the field to men who made a regular profession of fighting. Through the operation of such causes, the practice was introduced, in the reign of Henry II., of allowing the military tenants of the crown to commute their stipulated services for a money payment. Thus, the King could have the means of keeping up a regular force, and the barons and their followers would be saved the trouble and interruption of being obliged to obey the summons of the King to the field of foreign warfare.

It is important to notice the introduction of this practice of commuting military service for money payments, for it is generally recognized as the first clear symptom of the decay of feudalism. The payment itself was called "scutage," or "escuage," from the Latin word "*scutum*," a shield, because it was the amount of so much money for every one *bearing a shield*, who would have served with the lord. When this practice became general, the military spirit and discipline of the feudal array would, of course, rapidly degenerate.

I may mention, in passing, that the amount of scutage to be paid to the King became a subject of frequent disputes between him and the barons. In Magna Charta, we find it ordained that the scutage should be levied only by consent of the assembly of the barons.

Another great inroad into the feudal system was made by the practice, which extensively prevailed, of giving or bequeathing land to religious establishments. The land so conveyed would, originally, have had to maintain so many military retainers; but, when it passed into ecclesiastical hands, it ceased to bear this charge, and was in law said to be held in mortmain, (*in manu mortuâ*), as being held by persons who did nothing in the way of military service. The kings, and especially Edward I., struggled hard to moderate this system of giving up lands to religious purposes, and Edward passed the celebrated "Mortmain Act," by which it was ordained that no grant of land should be made for religious purposes, except with the king's licence. It must be observed, that very often this granting of land to religious houses was a mere pretence, and a collusion between the lord and the ecclesiastical body with whom he was dealing. It was thus transacted. The lord, wishing to escape from the burthen of providing military service, or scutage and the other payments to which his tenure was subject, made over his estate nominally to the monastery, which, in its turn, gave him a lease of it at a trifling rent, to be paid by him to the monastery. Hence, the lord managed to enjoy the estate relieved of its feudal obligations. The Mortmain Act of Edward I., repeated by various of his successors, was ineffectual, in the long run, to prevent the alienation of the land to religious houses. Certain ingenious legal fictions were devised, by which estates were practically conveyed to those establishments. Moreover, it was soon found that these legal fictions were applicable to the alienation of lands in other ways than the endowment of religious establishments. Hence, a large portion of the landed property of the kingdom became free from feudal charges. At last, at what may be considered as the end of the feudal period, Henry VII. passed an act legalizing the alienation of lands, and thus gave a finishing stroke to the genius of the feudal system.

Thus much may be said of the alienation of land from feudal tenants through the operation of mortmain and of legal fiction, as one of the chief causes of the decay of feudalism. The Crusades also tended powerfully to this end, inasmuch as barons and knights, departing for the Holy Land, sold their lands to a very great extent in order to raise money for defraying the expenses of their expeditions. These lands would thus be relieved from feudal charges, especially as they fell very much into the hands of the monks and other clergy, to whom they were either sold, or mortgaged without redemption.

The Crusades in other ways tended very much to the break up of feudalism, by creating a totally new and absorbing interest in the general mind, by placing all the soldiers of the cross very much on a level with each other through a community of feeling and object, and by introducing in their results extended commerce, and the arts, sciences, and literature, which at that period had taken refuge in Eastern lands. All these interests, being very adverse to the spirit of a great military organization like the feudal system, must have greatly hastened its destruction.

I will mention last, but not least, another cause of the decline of the feudal institutions, the multiplication of free and corporate towns, institutions which created a new power in the state, independent of feudal power, and very much opposed to it. War, and a strict subordination, pushed often to a servile subjection, were the life of feudalism; peace and liberty are the tendencies of civic life and of the commercial pursuits which usually attend it.

At the time of the Crusades it was a common practice with kings and other feudal superiors to sell charters, which embodied important franchises and privileges, to the towns in their demesnes, in order to obtain money for their expeditions to the Holy Land.

It was also the policy of kings to grant to the towns charters, exempting them from feudal subjection, in order to form a counterpoise to the power of the aristocracy. The wealth, which commerce, favoured by liberty, introduced into these towns, enabled the burgesses, as the citizens were called, to rival, and sometimes even to eclipse, the barons in importance and power. The union, too, which subsisted among the citizens of a town, incorporated by charter, would enable them to oppose a formidable front against the power of the barons.

These cities and towns, again, were fortified and garrisoned by the citizens, and thus were able to make head against the feudal lords. And whoever was admitted to the freedom of the town, or even had resided within its walls a year and a day, became by law a free man exempt from all subjection to a feudal superior. Hence it became common for villains and serfs of feudal domains to run away into these towns, and thus escape from the yoke of feudal servitude.

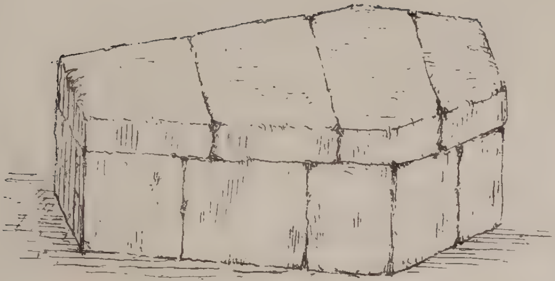
Such then, as I have above attempted to state them, were the causes which brought about the decay of the feudal system in England. I propose to continue the subject of its decay (and fall) in the next paper of this series.

STATE CHAIR OF SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, OF SALDEN.

The Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee writes to us as follows:—"Being at Aylesbury for a few hours last year, and looking over two or three old china and curiosity-shops in that town, as is my wont, I found, at a shop in Walton, the very handsome and perfect state chair of Sir John Fortescue, of Salden. I at once communicated the fact to Lord Clermont (a living representative of the Fortescues), and in May last received from him the following letter:—'35, Hill Street, W., May 6th, 1873.—My dear Dr. Lee,—As we are not to have the pleasure of seeing you at present, I must tell you of the result of your kind notice of the old chair. I wrote to Mr. Quainton and secured it, and it has been at this house since February last. I am much pleased to have such a good old relic of Salden, and one well identified as to date by the arms, which are, as you know, those of Fortescue; but perhaps you do not know that the escutcheon of pretence bears the Ashfield arms, and that Sir Thomas Fortescue, who built Salden, married a co-heiress of Ashfield. This is satisfactory. The chair is very handsome . . . . . Very truly yours, CLERMONT.'"

CHALK COFFIN IN HITCHAM CHURCHYARD.

A short time since, when a vault was being made in the graveyard of St. Mary's, Hitcham, a chalk coffin was discovered, 3 feet 6 inches below the surface. It was composed of chalk slabs; the body appeared to have been placed on the earth at the bottom of the grave, and the coffin built over it. Several iron rings and nails were found with the bones. The sides of two other chalk coffins were seen, but these were not disturbed. In the year 1866, when the porch of the church was rebuilt, a chalk coffin was discovered.



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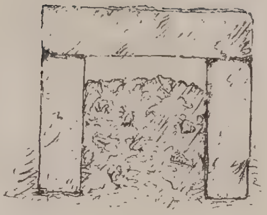

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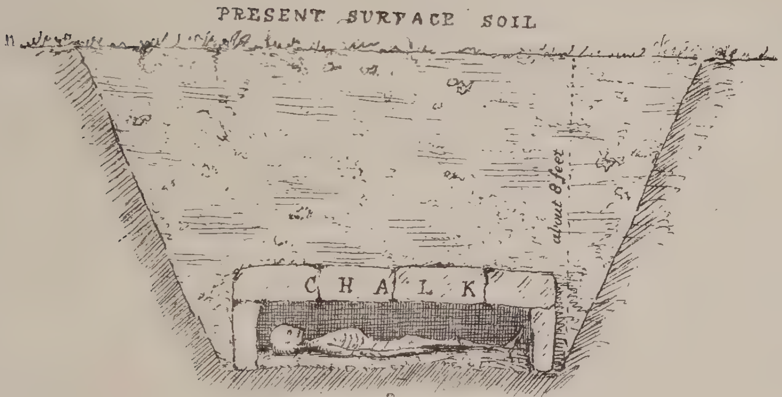

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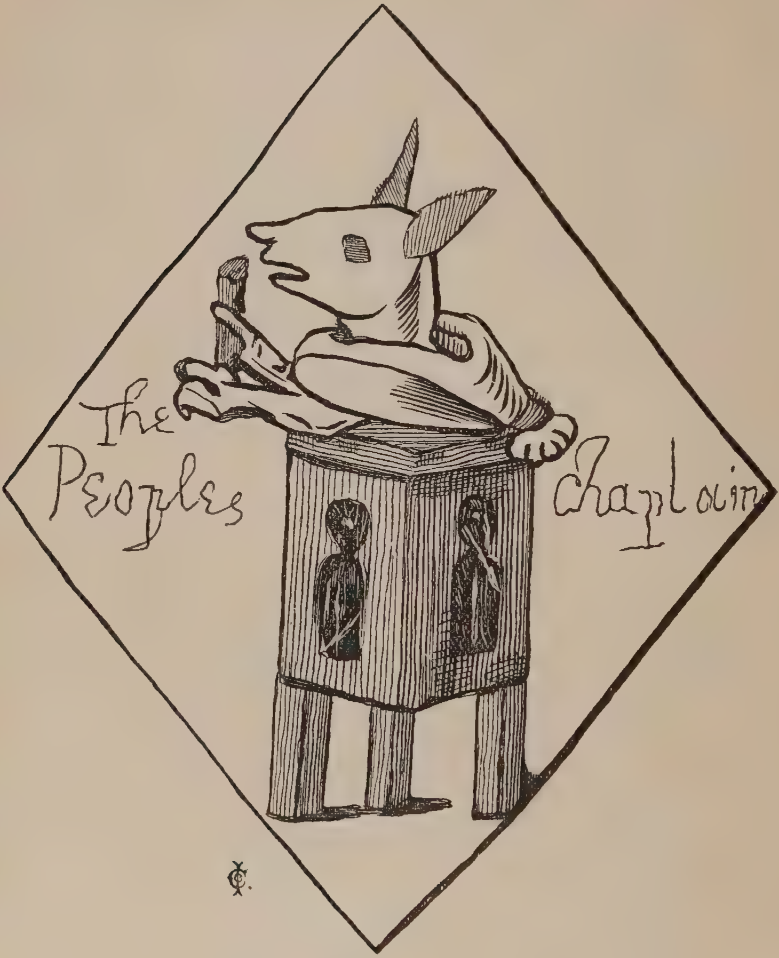
1. *Chalk coffin found at Hitcham*
2. *Section of ditto*
3. *Section of the grave*

B.



ANCIENT GLASS QUARRY,

Formerly in Westlington House, Dinton, near Aylesbury.

PRESENTED TO THE "RECORDS OF BUCKS" BY THE REV. DR. F. G. LEE.

FLOWERED QUARRY FROM WESTLINGTON.

Dear Sir,—I send for insertion in the Records of Bucks, if you think it worthy of a place therein, a woodcut of a curious ancient flowered quarry, formerly at Westlington, but now (with other contemporary specimens of stained glass) in my possession.

Westlington House is a picturesque and well-situated residence in the western part of the parish of Dinton, surrounded by some fine timber. The house itself is of the seventeenth century, though some of the brickwork and timber-work may be somewhat older in date. It is the residence of the widow of the late John Francklin, Esq.,—members of whose family served as High Sheriffs for the county, both in the last and present century.

The glass itself consists (1) of a curious but most artistic and religious representation of the Blessed Trinity—God the Father as the Ancient of Days, with God the Son crucified, and God the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove. (2), There is a rebus of Richard Parkhurst, together with a quarry, (3), on which the initials of the last-named are represented, joined by an intertwining conventional knot. (4), There are several other quarries containing a portcullis, a white hart, a pomegranate, and lastly, (5), that represented in the accompanying woodcut. This depicts a fox or wolf preaching in a friar's habit, standing in a moveable pulpit, and holding a scroll in its right paw. Scratched on the glass on either side, in the style of writing of the latter part of the sixteenth century, are the words "The People's chaplain." Although examples of the idea set forth in this quarry are not uncommon both in carving and painting, I know of no second specimen in glass. Possibly then, this quarry may be unique.

In Christian symbolism the fox is an emblem of cunning, fraud, and deceit. Sometimes he is employed in art to typify the evil one. Examples in France are given by Guilhermy in his interesting paper, *Iconógraphie des Fabliaux*, in Didron's Annales archéologiques, iii. p. 23. The second volume of the same interesting records provides numerous instances of the existence of similar representations.

In England, one or two examples may be indicated. There is a fox preaching to geese on a misericorde in Beverley Minster. On another, in the same place, two foxes hold pastoral staves and wear cowls. At Ripon Cathedral, on a misericorde, is a representation of the fox and stork. At York there is a fox preaching. He leans his fore-paws on the edge of the pulpit, and a smaller fox stands below holding the preacher's pastoral staff. At St. Martin's, Leicester, there was, until the church was "restored," a representation in stained glass of a fox preaching to a flock of geese, from the text, "*Testis est mihi Deus quam cupiam vos omnes visceribus meis*" (Phil. i. 8.) In the parish church of Boston a fox is represented as a bishop, and is preaching to a cock and some hens. On the elbow of a stall at Christ Church, Hampshire, a fox in a cowl is preaching from a pulpit—a small cock, perched on a stool acts as clerk. Carved on a bench-end at Nantwich, a fox in monastic habit holds a dead goose in his right hand, and bears a hare on a stick over his left shoulder. A fox preaching to geese occurs at Etchingham in Sussex. In the Ladye-Chapel of Westminster Abbey is a misericorde with a fox mounted on a cock's back, and a cock mounted on a fox's back, tilting at each other. In the church of Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire, there is the representation in stained glass of a fox mounted on a dog's back blowing a horn.

These and other delineations have their key in various passages of Holy Scripture, in which the fox never appears except as a spoiler and a foe. They are enemies of the vineyard. From the circumstance of the fox being clothed in the monastic habit and placed in a pulpit, some have maintained that such representations were intended as a satire of the "secular" upon the "regular" clergy, between whom it is notorious that there were constant and lasting feuds. For myself I hold that the object of the mediæval architects, carvers, and glass-painters was to show that the devil employed his craft everywhere—appearing even in the guise of a professed "religious," in order to dupe, beguile, and lead astray, just as the Apostle declares that Satan is transformed into an angel of light. Representations such as these were not originally intended to cast scorn and ridicule on any class of people; nor were they profane and meaningless jests: but they were intended to set forth the obvious or mystical meanings of Scripture phrases; and this in a forcible and expressive mode, easily comprehended, but not easily forgotten.

Hoping that this brief communication may be of interest to the members of our Society, I have the honour to be,

Dear Mr. Secretary, yours very faithfully,

FREDERICK GEORGE LEE.

6, *Lambeth Terrace, London.*
May, 1873.

DEEDS, DOCUMENTS, LETTERS, AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE LEES OF QUARRENDON.

CONTRIBUTED BY THE REV. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.C.L.

Abstracts of the following documents, relating to the family of Lee of Quarrendon, and Burston, co. Bucks; of Dytchley and Thame, co. Oxon; and of Hatfield and Pocklington, co. York, in the possession of the above named, are given here; partly as illustrating the papers on "The Lees of Quarrendon," which appeared in a previous volume from his pen, and partly as likely to be of general interest to the county historian, and local topographer:—

I. Vellum Roll of Arms, illuminated, of the Lees of co. Chester, and of Quarrendon, co. Bucks, commencing with John Lee, of co. Chester (1st year of Richard II.), who married a daughter of Sir Piers de Dutton; and ending with the Lees, Baronets, A.D. 1629. Signed and attested by Sir Henry St. George, Knt., of the College of Arms. Arms, crests, and quarterings at foot.

II. Grant of Arms, on vellum, illuminated, to Robert Lee, gentleman, of Quarrendon, in the co. of Bucks (High Sheriff, 1521 to 1533), from Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, and Thomas Benolt, Clarenceaux, with their seals and autograph signatures appended, dated A.D. 1513. The old arms used by Benedict Lee, [A.D. 1438], who came from Cheshire, were "argent a fesse between three crescents sable." Those given by the above grant, have been likewise used as a quartering by all descendants of Robert Lee (whose wife was Mary, dr. of —— Cope, Esq.), including all the baronets, and the four Earls of Litchfield. *See* Records of Bucks, vol. iii., pp. 208 and 245. The arms here granted, are depicted exactly as they appear on the grant in question, in the accompanying woodcut, which, though rough, is precise and accurate.

III. Copy, on paper, of a lease from the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, to Sir Anthony Lee, granting to him "to farm the tithes of corn and hay, to the chapell of Quarrendon, perteyning," etc.

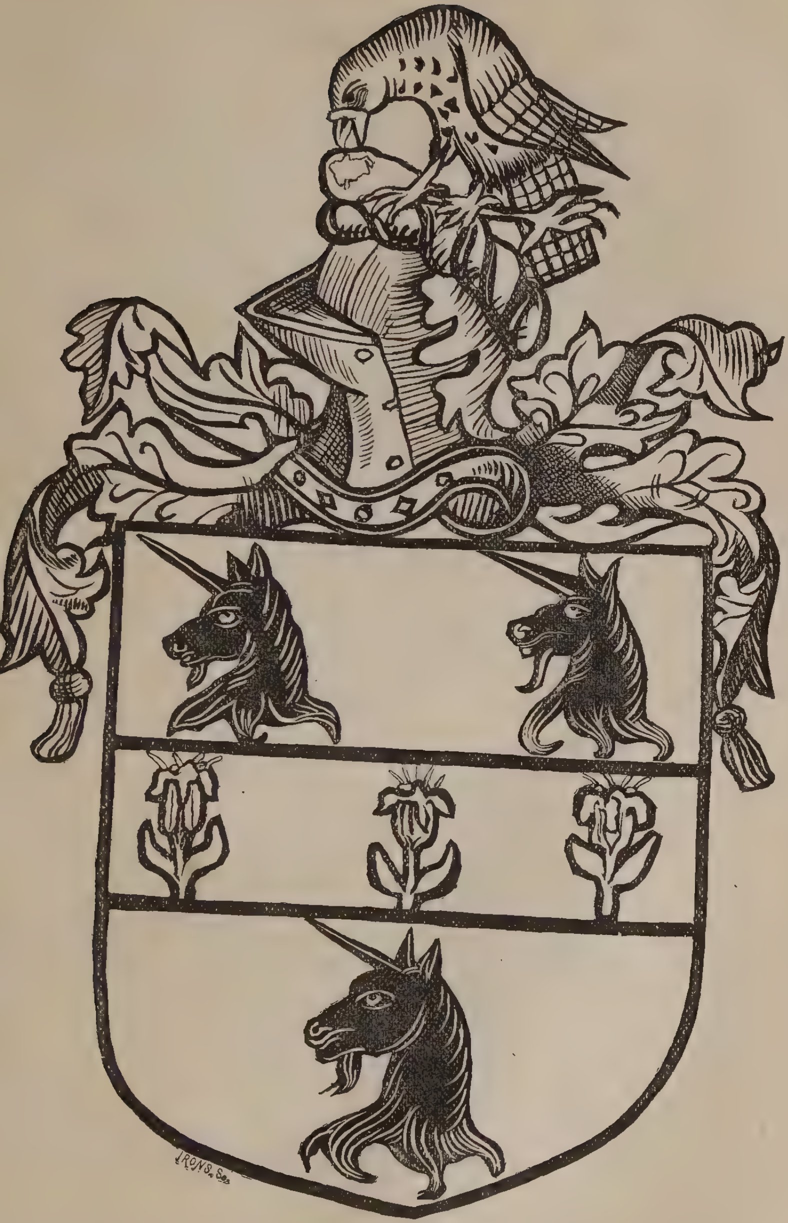
IV. Indenture. Whereas, King Henry VIII., on March 6th, in the 37th year of his reign, granted to John Croke and to Sir Anthony Lee, Knight, the Manor of Sendess, [or Sendless] in Stone, near Aylesbury, and the rectory and church of Stone, and a parcel of land called Westcroft, in Upton, in the tenantry of Thomas Venor, and Joanna his wife, with all rights, etc. And whereas the King gave to us all that land, etc., in Bishopstone and Southcote and Les Hokes, [or Stokes] at Heyford, Bucks, Know that I, John Croke, give, etc., everything to Anthony Lee, Knight. Dated, 23 March, 37th of Henry VIII. [Signed] Pr. me., J. Croke.

V. Deed, on paper, relating to "Ffletemarston, Weeden, Moreton, Lee, Waddesdon, Bierton, Blackgrove, Bishopstone, and Hertwell, to Robert Lee, of Quarrendon." [This would seem to imply a connection between the Lees of Quarrendon, Moreton, and Hartwell.]

VI. Indenture, on vellum, made 5th day September, in the 29th year of the reign of King Henry VIII., between Sir Robert Lee, Knt., and Gerard Harvey, gentleman, concerning "a parcell of land" called "Rygnetts." [Qy ?]

VII. Vellum deed. 25th Elizabeth. Sir Henry Lee, of Burstone, and Robert Lee of Hatfield, [co. York], gentleman, grant land in Blackgrove, formerly part of the dissolved monastery of Medmenham, to George Ball.

VIII. Vellum deed. Indenture. 21st March, 40th year of Q. Elizabeth. Grant of Charlbury woods in Oxfordshire, and Blagrove in Bucks, to Sir Henry Lee for eighty years after the expiration of a former grant of the same for sixty years. "Between Lee Symonds, gentleman, sonne of Katherine Symonds, one of the sisters of Sir Henry Lee, of the one part, and Sir Henry Lee of Quarrendon, in the countie of Bucks, K.G., of the other part."



ARMS OF ROBERT LEE, GENTLEMAN, AFTERWARDS SIR ROBERT LEE, KNIGHT, OF QUARRENDON.

(*From the Original Grant, A.D.*, 1513.)

PRESENTED TO THE "RECORDS OF BUCKS" BY THE REV. DR. F. G. LEE.

IX. Petition on paper of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., to Queen Elizabeth, in his own handwriting. Signature torn off, commencing thus: "To the Quenes most excellent Matie. my most dreade Suffereigne. Whereas itt hath been informed that your highnesse hath title to all my landes in Quarrendon in ye countie of Buck. Pleaseth yr Matie. to understand that my grandfather, Sir Robert Lee, Knight, servant to yr noble father and Gentleman Usher of his chamber, obtained by his gracious favor of his gifte the mannor of Quarrendon, for 50lb rent in fee farme which war the landes of Anne Countes of Warwick and after of Edward Erle of Warwick attaynted of treason, to the number of three hundred three score and six acres of land, meadow, pasture and wood," etc. etc.

X. Lease, on vellum, for a year, of the Manor of Spelsbury, from Sir Henry Lee, K.G., to Richard Gosnold, gentleman, of Beaconsfield, and Thomas Rawlins, gentleman, of Woodstock. Dated 13th July, 44th of Q. Elizabeth.

XI. Indenture on vellum in Latin, "Henricus Lee de Burston in Com. Buck. miles," grants to Robert Chaloner and Richard Tredway, gentlemen, "Putlowes" and "Hillfields." Dated 16th Dec., 23 Elizabeth. [Signed] Henry Lee.

XII. List of deeds relating to Fleetmarston. Document (paper). Thomas Ffitzhugh, and Robert Lee, gentlemen, of the Manor of Fletemarston. The names of Giles Dawbeny, Anthony Lee, Knt., and others occur.

XIII. Deed on vellum. John Finch, *alias* Freeman, of the City of London, gentleman, who had received an annuity of £20 from the Right Hon. Sir Henry Lee, K.G., in consideration of £60 paid to him by Thomas Rawlins of Garsington co. Oxon. gent., gives and grants the annuity to the said Thomas Rawlins. Dated July 27, 1605. [Signed] John Finch. Sir Henry Lee's signature and those of others, *in dorso*.]

XIV. Articles of agreement (on paper), between Theophilus Tuer, of the one part, Clerk, Rector of Fleetmarston, and John Sanders, Esq., of the other part, regarding the tithes of Fleetmarston. Witnessed by George Pickering.

XV. Copy of the Patent of Baronetcy to Henry Lee of Quarrendon, Esquire.

XVI. Indenture made 11 Feb., 5th year of King James I., between the Right Honourable Sir Henry Lee, K.G. and Henry Lee, gent., son of Thomas Lee, late of Castell Rebon, in the county of Kildare, Esquire, of the one part, and Sir Charles Manners of London, Knight, and Dame Margaret Manners, cousin in blood unto Sir Henry Lee, and daughter of the said Thomas Lee, of the other part: gives and grants an interest in certain lands in the County of Longford, sometime owned by Sir Nicholas Malbey, Knight.

XVII. Release as to the tithes of Fleetmarston (paper document). Mentioned therein, Sir Henry Lee, K.G., and Sir Henry Lee, Knt. and Bart. Dated 15th year of His Majesty's reign (James I.) signed "Theophilus Tuer." Seal, a demi lion rampant. Witnessed by Richard Rawlings, John Reddinge, and Wm. Chapell.

XVIII. A vellum deed (14th June, 2 James 1st), signed by Sir Henry Lee, K.G., giving to Sir Lawrence Tanfield, and Sir George Throckmorton of Fulbroke, certain rights, etc. It refers to "the mannor of Quarendon, alias Quarenden, alias Quaryndon, alias Querndon, Burston, Brydethorne, Hardwicke, Weeden, Blackgrove, Fleet Marston, and Parva Marston, alias Wretched Marston. Also to the mannor of Spillesburie, Dytchley alias Ditchley in the co. of Oxon." Sealed and delivered in the presence of Bennett Welsby, Richard Drake, Edward Raynsforde, Thomas Jackson, Lee Symonds, Richard Gosnold, Thomas Johnes, Symon Drewe.

XIX. Letters Patent, in Latin, [without great seal, which is wanting,] dated Feb. 10, 1st Charles I., granting a general pardon to Sir Henry Lee, [first] baronet.

XX. Indenture, dated 24 March, 1643, between George Pickering and John Carey* and Robert Pinke, Warden of New College, Oxford. Whereas the aforesaid Pickering and Carey together with Sir Edmund Verney [killed at the Battle of Edgehill] did by deed, bearing date 20 April 1642, sell to Dr. Robert Pinke for £500 the advowson and right of patronage of the Rectory of Wootton [Oxon], and whereas one fine was levied, this Indenture witnesseth to that fact.

XXI. Indenture, dated 1st Nov., 13th of Charles II. Sir Francis Henry Lee, [second] Baronet sells to [his uncle the Rev.] Edward Lee, clerk of Hardwicke, for £400, land at Rousham in the parish of Winggrave.

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* Agents and trustees to the Dytchley estate, and to the youthful baronet, Sir Henry Lee.

XXII. Letter of Ann Lady Lee (Ann St. John) to "Good Cousin Hyde," enquiring on her child's behalf "wether a Barronet, under age, and the king's ward, ought too pay the 30lb. imposed on that order," etc.

XXIII. Deed, on paper, between Robert Thorpe and George Thorpe, graziers, of Hardwicke in the county of Bucks, and the Right Hon. Edward Henry, Earl of Litchfield, dated May 15, 1716.

XXIV. A breviary of the accounts, with tenants' names, grounds held, rent, taxes and payment for lands, at Quarrendon, Blagrove, Burston, Hardwicke, Weeden and Fleetmarston, amounting to £2088 6s. 1½d. dated "Lady Day, 1720."

XXV. Letter from Ann, Countess of Rochester, (sometime Ann Lee) to her great-grandson Edward Henry Lee, 1st Earl of Litchfield, dated May 11th [Qy., 1688], relating to a law-suit between his lordship and his sole younger brother Francis Henry Lee, Esq.

XXVI. A paper document, "Note of the Church Book of Stone, regarding Streatleys," in which, amongst others, the name of Farmborow occurs.

XXVII. Sir Francis Pemberton's Opinion, with autograph subjoined, as to the equivalent value of Coberley, co. Gloucester, taken in reference to a Law-suit for the sum of £10,000 (A.D. 1690.) Coberley came through the marriage of the 4th baronet, Sir F. H. Lee of Quarrendon, with the only daughter of the Earl of Downe.

XXVIII. Autograph Letter of Sir Francis Henry Lee, bart., dated May 10, 1660, with signature and seal of armorial bearings.

XXIX. The value in detail of the lands of Quarrendon, from A.D. 1703 to 1710 inclusive.

XXX. "Award to John Lee, of Pocklington, in the county of York, gentleman, eldest son of Francis Lee, of Spelsbury, in the county of Oxford, esquire [Dytchley is situated in this parish], of sixty-eight acres of land in the township of Pocklington aforesaid." Dated 18 April, 1759. [This John Lee, who died Dec. 23, 1771, and was buried in Pocklington Church, (Will proved May 14, 1772), was great-grandfather to the late Rev. T. T. Lee, B.A. Oxon, Vicar of Thame, who was the grandfather of the present possessor of these documents.]

MEMOIR OF DR. MARTIN BENSON, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER (1735—1752),

COMPILED BY THE REV. MARTIN E. BENSON, RECTOR OF RINGWOULD, KENT.

Martin Benson, the subject of this memoir, was born in the Rectory House, Cradley, in the county of Hereford, April 23rd, 1689. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, his ancestors were settled and possessed of considerable landed property in the county of Hereford. George Benson, D.D., was, in that and the following reign, a Canon in the Cathedral of Hereford, and his grandson, of the same name, was in 1671 a prebendary of Worcester, and afterwards (until the time of his death) Dean of the Cathedral of Hereford.

Dean Benson married Catherine, the daughter of Samuel Fell, D.D., of Christ Church, Oxford, who, for his zeal and adherence to the royal cause, was, during the Commonwealth, ejected from all his preferments.

By this marriage, Dean Benson became brother-in-law to Bishop Fell, Dean and Bishop of Oxford. The son of Dean Benson, of the name of John, was collated by Bishop Croft to a stall in the Cathedral of Hereford, and (on the resignation of his father) in 1682, to the Rectory of Cradley, in the same county. He married the daughter of Benjamin Martin, Esq., of Oxfordshire, and of this marriage the immediate object of this memoir was the third and youngest son, being baptized by the name of Martin, in compliment to his mother's family. In his fifteenth year, he was placed at the Charter House, whence he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1706. Here he soon distinguished himself, passing his time with credit to himself until he took his degrees, and in 1712 he became, on the nomination of one of the Canons, a student of Christ Church. This gave a more decided bias to his future prospects, and from that time he seems to have determined on taking Holy Orders. During his college life, Mr. Benson was most fortunate in the acquaintances and friendships which he formed. The first of these (as most dear to him) was Mr. Edward Talbot, second son of Dr. Talbot, at that time Bishop of Oxford.

He was a member of Oriel College, and, though somewhat younger, of nearly the same standing in the University with Mr. Benson. There was a concurrence of disposition, sentiment, and pursuit, which united them in the firmest friendship, and proved the means of a mutual introduction to their several connections. Amongst these, the introduction which his intimacy with Mr. Talbot procured him into the family of his father, the Bishop, was of great and immediate advantage to him. Another friendship contracted in this circle was with Mr. Rundle, who was at this time student of Exeter College, and was also introduced by Mr. Talbot to his father. It was somewhat later in his academical life, but still through the same channel, that he commenced his acquaintance with Mr. Joseph Butler, afterwards the learned author of the "Analogy of Religion to Nature."

Mr. Butler was a member of a dissenting family of Wantage, in Berkshire, and was at first educated with a view to the Presbyterian ministry. But as time went on, his views were expanded, and he determined to take Holy Orders in the Church of England, and, with this view, became a member of Oriel College, Oxford. There he soon formed an acquaintance with Mr. Talbot, and this was naturally productive of an introduction to Mr. Benson, with whom he commenced a lasting friendship, which conduced much to their mutual happiness and advantage. In 1713 and 1715, Mr. Benson was ordained Deacon and Priest, but he still continued to reside in Oxford; became one of the tutors of his College, and went through several of its principal offices. During his residence in the University at this time, he had under his charge many young men of birth and fortune, amongst them two, with whom he became more intimately and permanently connected—the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Leominster. After spending the greater part of the last two years of his academical life in the tuition of these two pupils, he accompanied the latter in his continental tour, on which they started in the year 1717. It was during this tour that he met with a valuable but somewhat eccentric character, with whom he commenced a friendship which was renewed on their return home, and maintained to their latest day. The person alluded to was Mr. Berkely, the afterwards celebrated Bishop of Cloyne. Mr. Berkely had several years before been a resident in Italy with his friend and patron, the Earl of Peterborough. He was now in 1718 on a tour with the son of Sir George Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, and was intending to make a lengthened residence in Italy.

Many were the advantages which accrued from this fortunate meeting. Mr. Benson and his pupil were enabled to avail themselves of the previous scientific labours of Mr. Berkely, and in the amplest manner to gratify their taste in viewing and examining all that was so peculiarly interesting to them in that country of intellectual delight.

From Italy he, in course of time, passed on to Paris. At this period Paris afforded a good school for the study of medicine, and it was usual for English students, who wished to perfect themselves in that science, to pass the latter period of their probation in attendance on the professors and eminent practitioners of that city. Amongst other English at that time residing in Paris for this purpose was Mr. Secker, a gentleman but a few years younger than Mr. Benson, and the intimate friend, fellow-student, and correspondent of Mr. Butler. Mr. Secker was of a family attached to Presbyterian principles in the county of Nottingham, and, like his friend Mr. Butler, was originally destined by his parents for the ministry. But not being able to satisfy himself on some theological points, he determined (rather than hastily embark in a profession which he might hereafter feel inclined to relinquish) to prepare himself for some other course of life, and, with this view, was pursuing the study of physic in Paris. The conflict in his mind on the subject of his religious doubts was advancing to a termination about the time when Mr. Benson commenced his acquaintance with him, and it can scarcely be doubted but that, in the friendly intercourse which then took place between them, this subject formed part of their conversation.

It was, as it seems, about this time that Mr. Secker communicated to his friend Mr. Butler, his inclination to conform to the Church of England. Mr. Benson preceded him in his return to England by a few months, and when the party united in their native country, with the accession of their common friend Mr. Talbot, Mr. Secker's maturing sentiments were confirmed, and he determined to become not only a *member*, but a *minister* of that Church, in behalf of whose teaching he had so deliberately judged and conscientiously decided. And he was accordingly some time afterward ordained by his friend and future patron, Bishop Talbot.

Mr. Benson's professional engagement with Lord Leominster having satisfactorily terminated, and his connection with the young Earl of Huntingdon having ripened into a well-grounded friendship, he was considered as on a fair road to high ecclesiastical preferment —but this was not the channel whereby he was advanced to his preferments.

Soon after his return from the Continent, he rejoined the society to which he had been previously so much attached in the Talbot family.

The Bishop had some time since been translated from the see of Oxford to that of Salisbury; and in January, 1720, Mr. Benson experienced the commencement of that patronage, which he afterwards partook of more fully, being then collated by him to the prebendal stall of Ilfracombe in his cathedral.

His friend, Mr. Edward Talbot, had been promoted by his father to the Archdeaconry of Berkshire. This preferment enabled him to marry; and the object of his choice was Miss Martin, a near relative of Mr. Benson's, and the intimate friend and companion of his sister Catherine. This marriage was celebrated under the happiest auspices; but before the close of the same year Mr. Talbot was seized with the small-pox, and to the great grief of all who knew him, the disease terminated fatally.

It was a gratifying token of their deceased friend's warmth of affection that (on his death-bed) he had strongly recommended to the future patronage of his father, his three most valued friends, Benson, Butler, and Secker—a legacy which the venerable Bishop did not fail most conscientiously to discharge. The first-fruits of this pious intention of the good Bishop was to confer on Mr. Benson the Archdeaconry of Berkshire, which had just been so sadly vacated by the death of his son.

To Bishop Talbot he now became professionally attached (as one of his archdeacons) and in the pleasing discharge of that part of his obligations, which he seemed to owe to his departed friend, he devoted much of his time to him: whereby he at once satisfied his sense of duty and indulged his inclination.

It was at this time also that Mr. Benson strengthened the friendship which had been commenced with Mr. Secker in Paris, and with Mr. Berkely in Italy, and so five men, who in future became remarkable, were closely associated together, "Secker, Berkely, Rundle, Benson, and Butler."

In 1722 Bishop Talbot was translated from Salisbury to Durham. This was very shortly followed by his promotion of Butler and Secker, Rundle and Benson, to preferments in his new diocese, the latter being appointed to a stall in Durham Cathedral. From this time, having no parochial engagement, and the preferment which he held in the Diocese of Sarum requiring but a partial attention, Mr. Benson made his prebendal house at Durham the chief place of his abode. His three friends were in the immediate neighbourhood, and one of them (Secker) about this time married his sister. This seems to have been the happiest period of Mr. Benson's life, surrounded as he was by those in whose welfare he was most interested, who had travelled with him thus far in their professional lives, and who were destined hereafter to maintain a like equality of success. Of this course of happiness he was soon to experience a diminution (if that may be called such which most men would estimate very differently), in a further accession of preferment.

It was unsolicited, but nevertheless it was pleasing, as the offer came not only from a relation, but from a long-tried and much-valued friend. This was Browne Willis, Esq., of Whaddon Hall, Bucks, principally known to the world in the character of an antiquarian. An amusing sketch of this quaint person is drawn by Miss Catherine Talbot, grand-daughter of Bishop Talbot, in one of her letters, dated "Rectory-house, St. James', January 2nd, 1738-9:—

> "You know Browne Willis, or at least it is not my fault that you do not, for when at any time any of his oddities have peculiarly struck my fancy, I have writ you whole volumes about him. However, that you may not be forced to recollect how I have formerly tired you, I will repeat, that with one of the honestest hearts in the world, he has one of the oddest heads that ever dropt from the moon. Extremely well versed in coins, he knows hardly anything of mankind; and you may judge what

kind of education such an one is likely to give to four girls, who have had no female directress to polish their behaviour, or any other habitation than a great rambling mansion-house in a country village. As by his little knowledge of the world he has ruined a fine estate, that was when he first had it, £2000 per annum, his present circumstances oblige him to an odd-headed kind of frugality, that shows itself in the slovenliness of his dress, and makes him think London too extravagant an abode for his daughters: at the same time that his zeal for antiquities makes him think an old copper farthing very cheaply bought with a guinea, and any journey properly undertaken, that will bring him to some old cathedral, on the Saint's-day to which it is dedicated. As if you confine the natural growth of a tree, it will shoot out in a wrong place, in spite of his expensiveness, he appears saving in every article of life that people would expect him otherwise in; and in spite of his frugality, his fortune I believe grows worse and worse every day. I have told you before that he is the dirtiest creature in the world; so much so, that it is quite disagreeable to sit by him at table; yet he makes one suit of clothes serve him at least two years; and then his great-coat has been transmitted down, I believe, from generation to generation ever since Noah. Sunday he was quite a beau. The Bishop of Gloucester is his idol: and if Mr. Willis were Pope, St. Martin, as he calls him, would not wait a minute for canonization. To honour last Sunday as it deserved, after having run about all the morning to the St. George's churches, whose difference of hours permitted him, he came to dine with us in a tie wig, that exceeds indeed all description. 'Tis a tie wig (the very colour of it is inexpressible) that he has had, he says, these nine years; and of late it has lain by at his barber's, never to be put on but once a year in honour of the Bishop of Gloucester's birthday. But you will say what is all this to my engagement this morning? Why, you must know, Browne distinguishes his four daughters into the *Lions* and the *Lambs.* The Lambs are very good and very insipid; they were in town about ten days, that ended the beginning of last week; and now the Lions have succeeded them, who have a little spirit of rebellion, that makes them infinitely more agreeable than their sober sisters. The Lambs went to every Church Browne pleased every day; the Lions came to St. James' Church on St. George's day: the Lambs thought of no higher entertainment than going to see some collections of shells; the Lions would see everything and go everywhere. The Lambs dined here one day, were thought good awkward girls, and then were laid out of our thoughts for ever. The Lions dined with us on Sunday, and were so extremely diverting that we spent all yesterday morning, and are engaged to spend all this, in entertaining them, and going to a Comedy, that I think has no ill-nature in it; for the simplicity of these girls has nothing blameable in it, and the contemplation of such unassisted nature is infinitely amusing. They follow Miss Jenny's rule of *never being strange in a strange place*, yet in them this is not boldness. I could send you a thousand traits of them, if I were sure they would not lose by being writ down, but there is no imitating that inimitable naiveté, which is the grace of their character. They were placed in your seat on Sunday. I wondered to have heard no remarks on the Prince and Princess; their remarks on everything else are admirable. As they sat in the Drawing-room before dinner one of them called to Mrs. Secker, '*I wish you would give me a glass of sack!*' The Bishop of Oxford (Secker) came in; and one of them broke out very abruptly, '*But we heard every word of the sermon where we sat; and a very good sermon it was,*' added she with a decisive nod. The Bishop of Gloucester gave them tickets to go to a play, and one of them took great pains to repeat to him, till he heard it, '*I would not rob you, but I know you are very rich and can afford it; for I ben't covetous, indeed I an't covetous.*' Poor girls! their father will make them go out of town to-morrow, and they begged very hard that we would all join in entreating him to let them stay a fortnight, as their younger sisters have done; but all our entreaties were in vain, and to-morrow the poor Lions return to their den in the stage-coach. Indeed, in his birthday tie-wig, he looked so like the Father in the farce Mrs. Secker was so diverted with, that I wished a thousand times for the invention of Scapin, and I would have made no scruple of assuming the character, and inspiring my friends with the laudable spirit of rebellion. I have picked out some of the dullest of their traits to tell you. They pressed us extremely to come and breakfast with them at their lodgings, four inches square, in Chapel Street, at eight o'clock in the morning, and bring a stay-maker and the Bishop of Gloucester with us. We put off the engagement till eleven, sent the staymaker to measure them at nine, and Mrs. Secker and I went, and found the ladies quite undressed; so that instead of taking them to Kensington Gardens as we promised, we were forced, for want of time, to content ourselves with carrying them round Grosvenor Square into the Ring, where, for want of better amusement, they were fain to fall upon the basket of dirty sweetmeats and cakes that an old woman is always teazing you with there, which they had nearly dispatched in a couple of rounds. It were endless to tell you all thathas inexpressibly diverted me in their behaviour and conversation. I have yet told you nothing; and yet I have, in telling that nothing, wasted all the time that my heart ought to have been employed in saying a thousand things to you that it is more deeply interested in. I wanted to express a thousand sentiments; but I hope you know them already, and at present my time is all spent. If you have a mind to a second part (which I assure you will far exceed the first), of the memoir of the Lions, tell me so, and you shall have it, when you please, for there is no fear of my forgetting what is fixed on my memory, by such scenes of mirth.—Yours most faithfully, "C. TALBOT."

To this lively sally from the pen of an accomplished young woman of eighteen, it will be allowable to subjoin the more soberly drawn character of Mr. Willis from the pen of his learned friend, contemporary, and associate, Dr. Ducard, in his memoir on the subject to the Society of Antiquarians, 1760:—

"He was indefatigable in his researches, for his works were of the most laborious kind. But what enabled him, besides his unwearied diligence, to bring them to perfection was, his being blessed with a most excellent memory. He had laid so good a foundation of learning that, though he had chiefly conversed with records and other matters of antiquity, which are not apt to form a polite style, yet he expressed himself in all his compositions in an easy and genteel manner. He was, indeed, one of the first who placed our ecclesiastical history and antiquities upon a firm basis, by grounding them upon records and registers, which, in the main, are unexceptionable authorities. During the course of his long life he had visited every cathedral in England and Wales, except Carlisle, which journeys he used to call his *pilgrimages*. In his friendships none more sincereand hearty, always communicative, and ever ready to assist every studious and inquisitive person. This occasioned an acquaintance and connection between him and all his learned contemporaries. For his mother, the University of Oxford, he always expressed the most awful respect and the warmest esteem. As to his piety and moral qualifications he was strictly religious, without any mixture of superstition or enthusiasm, and quite exemplary in this respect; and of this, his many public works in building, repairing, and beautifying churches, are so many standing witnesses. He was charitable to the poor and needy, just and upright towards all men. With regard to himself, he was remarkably sober and temperate, and often said that he denied himself many things that he might employ them better. And, indeed, he appeared to have had no greater value for money than as it furnished him with opportunities for doing good.—From Nichol, "Anecdotes of Bowyer," p. 148.

Browne Willis's great attachment to Bishop Benson has been mentioned by Miss Talbot, in her lively style. The same may be deduced from their correspondence, and, it may be added, that it was mutual. The following inscription, inserted in the first page of a very handsome Vulgate Bible, which had been the property of their common ancestor Bishop Fell, presented by Mr. Willis to Bishop Benson, will prove a testimony to the existence and warmth of their friendship, equally honourable to each party:—

Reverendo admodum in Christo Patri
Martin Benson, S.T.P.,
Glocestrensi Episcopo Vigilantissimo
Codicem hunc sacrum
E Bibliothecâ Johannis Fell *το͂υ μακαρίτου*
Episcop. Oxon. Avunculi sui venerabilis
nec minus sanctimoniâ quam sanguine et personæ
similitudine affinis,
Selectum D. D. D. Browne Willis
Gratitudinis æternæ
Ob innumera et perpetua in se suosque
Beneficia quotidie collata
leve pignus.

About the close of the year 1727, the rectory of Bletchley became vacant, Mr. Willis being the patron. Feeling the great advantages he would thereby confer on the parishioners of Bletchley, and with a full sense of his important obligation as lay patron, Mr. Willis urged Mr. Benson to accept of the vacant benefice. The living was considerable in value, but an increase of income was now of no consideration to him, and if preferment of that description had entered into his wishes, his situation in the Church of Durham gave him the prospect of its speedy attainment, without the interruption to his social plans which this distant residence threatened. Mr. Benson was, however, prevailed upon to accept it. This was the first and only parochial preferment he ever enjoyed, and during the seven years he held it he proved himself an active, faithful, and conscientious parish priest.

The parish of Bletchley, of which Mr. Benson thus became the rector, was of considerable extent and population, comprising, besides the village of that name, the hamlet of Water Eaton, and a part of the small decayed town of Fenny Stratford. This preferment therefore afforded sufficient scope for the exertion of his active and benevolent spirit; he was also fortunate in having a patron who fully concurred with him in all his views for the discharge of his parochial duties; and who possessed not only the inclination, but the means, of yielding effectual assistance in his plans of improvement. A favourable instance of Mr. Willis's active inclination in this cause may be exemplified in the circumstances of the parish at the time when Mr. Benson became the rector of it. At Fenny Stratford, which is situated at some distance from the parish church, and on a much frequented public road, there had formerly been a chapel-of-ease, for the accommodation of the inhabitants. This had fallen into a state of dilapidation since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and, consequently, the inhabitants of that part of the parish might be said to be destitute of any place for divine worship.

Mr. Willis projected the rebuilding of it, and accordingly procured subscriptions in the neighbourhood in aid of his own larger contributions, and had been enabled in the year 1724 to lay the first stone of the new chapel. Matters were in this state when Mr. Benson was inducted to the living, and somewhat more than two years after (viz., May 27, 1730), the chapel was consecrated, and thenceforward appropriated to the celebration of divine service; and *that posterity might continue in the full enjoyment of this advantage, the Rector and another person contributed to its endowment by a donation of £100 each, whereby they were further enabled to procure the Queen Anne's bounty, which constituted it a perpetual curacy and a chapel-of-ease to the mother church of Bletchley.*

There are some circumstances connected with this restoration, which, as they tend to illustrate the singular character of Mr. Willis, may be interesting to mention. The chapel was dedicated by him to St. Martin, and the first stone of it was laid on St. Martin's Day, because his grandfather died on St. Martin's Day, in St. Martin's Lane. And when the chapel was finished, he caused an engraved portrait of his grandfather to be hung up at the entrance, with the following lines:—

> "In honour of thy memory, blessed shade,
> Was the foundation of this chapel laid.
> Purchased by thee, thy son and present heir
> Owe these their manors to thy art and care.
> For this, may all thy race thanks ever pay,
> And yearly celebrate St. Martin's Day."

In the same spirit, whimsical certainly, but not illaudable, he beautified and repaired the parish church of Bletchley, at an expense of £1346, to which he was induced, as he says, by the circumstance of his father and mother having been there interred, esteeming it a greater act of piety, and as great a respect to their memory, as if he had erected costly monuments over their remains.

Having thus, in conjunction with his friend and patron, accomplished this important improvement in the circumstances of his parish, Mr. Benson made it the place of his principal residence, and personally superintended whatsoever might tend to its interest and advantage. He was fortunate also in meeting with parishioners who were competent to appreciate the value of such a minister, and with their ready concurrence he was enabled to discharge every part of his duty to their profit and his own satisfaction.

A short time previous to his taking the living of Bletchley, he had been appointed one of the Queen's chaplains, and being in the year 1728 in his Majesty's suite on the royal visit to the University of Cambridge, amidst the profusion of degrees which were conferred on that occasion, he was created D.D. In 1730, he had the misfortune to lose his friend and patron, Bishop Talbot. But within a year of the bishop's death, his eldest son became Lord Chancellor, and on his advancement to the Seals he immediately showed the same kind attention to the clerical friends of his deceased brother as his father had done, and one of his first acts was to call Mr. Butler from his retirement at Stanhope to be his domestic chaplain, shortly after which he was promoted to a stall in Rochester. In 1733, Mr. Secker was promoted to the rectory of St. James's Piccadilly, and within a year after he was advanced further to the see of Bristol.

Benson's time for episcopal promotion now came, though it would appear from one of his letters to Browne Willis that the offer of preferment was at first declined. Writing to him, he says:—

> "I shall strangely surprise you, though not so much as myself was surprised with the news, when I acquaint you that I am, after all, to be a Bishop. My brother Secker and I were but on Tuesday morning with Sir R. Walpole, to return our thanks, the one for being, the other for *not* being, a Bishop, and he repeated to me the promise he had in a letter before sent me an account of, that his Majesty would give me the first Deanery I desired. Before three o'clock that afternoon I was sent for and acquainted that Dr. Mawson had desired to be excused taking the Bishopric; that I was nominated to the Bishopric of Gloucester; and the person who delivered me the message said he had engaged I should accept it, which, accordingly, I have since done. I shall only say, that as this has in so extraordinary—and, I trust, providential—a manner come to me, I trust the same good Providence will enable me to do the duty of it. I know my own inability, and the only thing I can say of myself is, that I have a heart sincerely and zealously disposed to do all the good in the station which I may be capable of doing."

He was thus appointed to the bishopric of Gloucester, and on the 19th of January, 1735, was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, together with his brother-in-law, Dr. Secker, to the see of Bristol, and Dr. Fleming to that of Carlisle.

Bishop Benson now resigned his archdeaconry of Berkshire, and his rectory of Bletchley, though he still retained his prebendal stall in Durham. About this time another ecclesiastical promotion took place which it is as well to mention in this memoir.

It has been remarked, that in Italy Dr. Benson commenced an acquaintance with Mr. Berkely. Between him and Bishop Secker and Benson there had grown up the warmest friendship. He, like the rest, had been promoted; first to the deanery of Clogher, and then of Derry, and then to the bishopric of Cloyne in the year 1734.

Thus did the stream of good fortune, which brought success to the immediate subject of our enquiry, extend its favourable tide to those whom he most loved. Having been, rather against his inclination, confirmed in his bishopric, Benson determined to do his utmost in this his more enlarged sphere of work. It was his endeavour to look into all the minutest parts and concerns of the diocese, and to enable him to do this he laboured to become acquainted with the manners, habits, and pursuits of his clergy, and gave them every facility for cultivating an acquaintance and friendship with him. He had one day every week on which his table was open to such clergy and laity as would accept of his hospitality. Yet this periodical exercise of hospitality was considered rather as a conscientious discharge of a necessary duty than as any personal gratification to himself. Inveterate headache, and a constitutional depression of spirits, rendered him but little calculated for exertion of this kind, whilst the strict regimen he was obliged to observe was far from congenial with the exercise of hospitality. His diocese was his first and prominent care. He was not at all a political partisan; but in his character of a Lord of Parliament, he endeavoured always to blend that of a Christian bishop, and the presence which the one did not exact he devoted faithfully to the other. He accordingly did not deem it necessary to attend in Parliament, except when questions arose affecting the Church, or which involved the well-being of the State. His residence in London was limited to the discharge of his duty, and he had no family to tempt him to trespass on his attention to his diocese. It was at all times a great pleasure to him to see the honourable success of his friends; and two promotions, which took place in 1737-1738, gave him much satisfaction. In the spring of the former year, his brother-in-law, Dr. Secker, was removed to the see of Oxford, and in the following year Dr. Butler was promoted to the see of Bristol.

It was thus amidst his episcopal, social, and domestic duties, that he passed several years to his own satisfaction and the benefit of others. The eventful year of 1745 brought him again on a more public stage of action, and the obligations of the times he discharged in a manner worthy of himself. It happened at this period that the bishop was not in his diocese, but in a place of much greater danger—in *Durham*—where his active spirit was eventually of great service to the public. His own detail of these circumstances, in a letter to his friend Bishop Berkely, is as follows, and as an original document of the history of the time it is not uninteresting:—

"My Dear Lord,—Your letter found me not at Gloucester, but at this place, whither I came the beginning of the last month to keep my residence, and whence it would be thought a shame to stir while it continues in the danger in which it has some time been. We have for our defence entered into an association, and, in consequence of it, a regiment of horse is to be raised, and money subscribed for maintaining it. It was very providential that the rebels, after the defeat of Sir John Cope, did not immediately march this way. If they had, they might not only have come without opposition thus far, but as much farther as to London itself. In conjunction with five of the principal gentlemen of this county, I took the liberty of making a representation where the most effectual stand might be made in these parts, and what was the likeliest method of doing it. And I had the honour of receiving from the Duke of Newcastle two expresses, acquainting me that we had the good fortune to have his Majesty's sentiments entirely agreeing with ours, and after the representation was, by his order, considered in council, it was agreed that Newcastle, and not Berwick, was the place of making a stand, and that the force which could be collected should be drawn thither. And an order, in consequence of this, was sent to Berwick, to require that the Dutch regiment which had landed there should immediately march to Newcastle. . . . . I was going to say something of my own health, but really while the *salus publica* is in this danger, I think much less than I used to do about it. We are entering into an association, and raising troops in Gloucestershire, as we have done here, and when I leave this place I hope to get back thither again. There will be enough without me in Parliament till after Christmas. It is a pleasure in the midst of our distress to see that all in this kingdom are united in loyalty. But, then, there is much too great a union also in vice and irreligion. And what great good can we expect from the former while the latter is the case? I was in great hopes that much good would arise out of the present evil, by awakening and amending us; but I do not see that either prosperity or adversity is likely to do this. And if so, our ruin will only be adjourned, and not removed, if we get out of the present danger. I have just room to wish the complete recovery of your son, and am yours, most faithfully,

"M. GLOUCESTER."

There is another point which ought to be mentioned in this memoir, and that is, Bishop Benson's ordination of George Whitefield. He, as a boy, received the early part of his education in the college school of Gloucester, and, being a boy of some promise, when in his eighteenth year was sent to Pembroke College, Oxford. There he became acquainted with the Wesleys, and joined their society, and in returning to his own city he laboured with much zeal and earnestness, endeavouring to instruct the ignorant, and to arouse the careless and indifferent. His rising fame reached the ear of the bishop, who admired his zeal, applauded his courage, and having ascertained the purity of his life, he conceived that in those days of religious languor and indifference, a minister of this cast would prove an acquisition to the Established Church.

He, accordingly, sent for him, and having found that although fully qualified for the first orders of the ministry he was yet only in his twenty-second year, informed him that he would depart from his custom, and admit him to deacon's orders whenever he applied. After a short deliberation, Mr. Whitefield availed himself of the offer, and on the 26th day of June, 1736, he was ordained deacon, and in 1738 was admitted to priest's orders. Though, as time went on, the results were not in accordance with the bishop's wishes, yet his intention had been for the good of the Church and the benefit of souls. The state of the Church at that period was such as to require the most able, zealous, and active ministry, and any injury which has in this case accrued to the Church, must be ascribed to its own act in silencing, rather than using, the instruments which were at hand to rouse its sleeping energies. It is a curious coincidence, that Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, who afterwards became one of Whitefield's great supporters, was the widow of the bishop's old pupil, the Earl of Huntingdon. Some time after the death of the Earl she became acquainted with Whitefield, and continued his uniform patroness and supporter. Her sister-in-law had married Wesley's old pupil and fellow-missionary, Ingham, and she, it would appear, communicated her opinions to the Countess. The Wesleys were called in to her after a dangerous illness, and the bishop, her husband's tutor, was afterwards sent for, in hopes that he might restore her to a sounder state of devotion. But all his arguments were ineffectual. Instead of receiving instruction from him, she was disposed to be teacher, quoted the homilies against him, insisted upon her own interpretation of the articles, and attacked him on the awful responsibility of his station. All this is said to have irritated him. The emotion, which he must needs have felt, might have been more truly, as well as more charitably, interpreted; and when he left her, he lamented that he had ever laid his hands on George Whitefield. "My lord," she replied, "mark my words: when you come upon your dying-bed, that will be one of the few ordinations you will reflect upon with complacence" (Southey's "Life of Wesley").

In the year 1752, the bishop lost his old friend—Bishop Butler. It seems that towards the close of the month of May, Bishop Benson was engaged in a visitation and confirmation tour through his diocese. This engagement carrying him into the neighbourhood of Bath, he determined to see the state of his friend, then dangerously ill, and take, it might be, a last farewell of him for this world. The bishop was in a dying state; but though his bodily powers were rapidly failing, his mind was still vigorous. The meeting was melancholy but gratifying to both, and they took an affectionate leave of each other for this world, with the assured hope of meeting again in a better. Bishop Benson's own health was now rapidly failing; anxiety, fatigue, the extreme heat of the weather, and the additional unfortunate circumstance of getting very wet in the course of his journey (for, on this occasion, as usual, he travelled on horseback), brought him to a state extremely alarming to his friends. He was, however, enabled to reach Gloucester, where he heard of the death of his friend, Butler. The cold he had taken brought on inflammation of the bowels, and after a long and agonizing illness, which terminated in mortification, he breathed his last on August 30th, 1752. He was buried on September 4th, in the Cathedral of Gloucester, and a plain stone marks the spot with the concise inscription, "Martinus Episcopus."

Bishop Benson's literary character is rather to be inferred from general circumstances than to be considered as established on any existing basis. The situation he maintained in his college, and the selection of him as the instructor and travelling companion to pupils of rank, are sufficient presumptions of his early attainments and scholarship; whilst the eminent persons with whom he principally associated in his latter days, seem to be sufficient vouchers to the estimation in which he was held by these companions of his leisure hours. Indeed, the common report of his knowledge and attainments fully corroborate these inferences, and the very few publications of his, limited to a few occasional sermons, are creditable specimens of his talents, and leave us to regret that more have not been handed down. Classic authors were to his latest day his favourite recreation. His professional reading seems to have been extensive, and always accompanied by a criticising and investigating spirit. In a word—his opinions were sought after, his sentiments were

listened to with deference; and although he has not left behind him any considerable literary treasures, yet he may safely be classed among the learned prelates of his day.

> "Ev'n in a bishop I can spy desert:
> Secker is decent, Rundle has a heart;
> Manners with candour are to Benson given,
> To Berkely every virtue under heaven."
>
> POPE'S *Dialogues*, II., 70.

ROMAN SILVER SPOONS, ETC.

A find of a very interesting character was made in the autumn of 1872, in a field between Great Horwood and Winslow. The ploughshare struck the bottom of a small metal vase or pot, and tore it open. It contained some spoons, a fibula or brooch, a pin and a ring,* all of silver, and of Roman type. It was reported that there were five spoons, though only two, with the other articles, have been secured for the Society's Museum. The peculiarity of the spoons is that the bowls are oval, and drop about a quarter of an inch below the long taper shanks, which were originally straight, but which evidently had been rudely bent in order that they might be put into the metal pot. In the bowl of one of the spoons is an inscription, VENERIA VIVAS; and it seems as if this spoon had been given to a lady of the name of Veneria, as a birthday or wedding present. The long taper shanks of the spoons were used for drawing snails, etc., out of their shells. This custom is alluded to by Martial (Martialis Epigramma, lib., xiv. ep. 121) an old Roman author, B.C.:

> "Sum cochleis habilis, sed nec minus utilis ovis.
> Numquid scis potuis cur *cochleare* vocer?"

Pliny in his Nat. Hist., xxviii. c. 2, records the singular practice of either perforating the egg-shell, after its contents have been eaten, with the end of the spoon, or breaking off the bowl of the spoon; "Huc pertinet ovorum ut exsorbuerit quisque calices cochlearumque protinus frangi aut eosdem cochlearibus perforari." Sir Thomas Browne, in his Vulgar Errors, 1669, Book V. c. xxi. s. 4, quotes this passage from Pliny, and calls the custom of "breaking the egg-shell after the meat is out, a superstitious relict," and says that "the intent was to prevent witchcraft."

C. LOWNDES.

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* Photographed by S. G. Payne, Aylesbury.

Proceedings of the Society.

THE SOCIETY made its annual excursion on July 29th, 1873. The first place visited was DUNTON Church, which is dedicated to St. Martin. In the north wall of the nave, on the outside, is the arch of an early Norman doorway, of great beauty, with the chevron and other ornaments. It was filled up with mortar, so that the tympanum could not be seen. This was, probably, the doorway of the old Church of the time of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who received this and several other manors from William the Conqueror. The doorway dates from about 1070. The tower is Early English, and also the chancel, which has a Queen post roof, of the Decorated period, the design being bold, and worked out with considerable freedom. Two Early English windows remain; the others have been replaced with fourteenth century work. The piscina is still very perfect. There are several brasses in the floor, one dated 1518, to the memory of John Sutton, and Agnes his wife. In 1824 several coins were dug up in the parish; one was of the time of Antoninus Pius, one of Justinian, and one of Constantine. Bishop Blomfield was rector of the parish in 1811, and two of his children are buried in a corner of the chancel. The Ven. Archdeacon BICKERSTETH, Vice-President of the Society, expressed a hope that ere long the church would be restored in memory of that good Bishop. He related an amusing story of the Bishop. When he first came there, fresh from Cambridge, he thought it his duty to begin his ministry with a course of argumentative discourses on natural religion, and preached upon the existence of the Deity from the text—"The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God." Asking a farmer afterwards how he liked the sermon, the reply was, "I like the style very much, but I don't like the doctrine. You may say what you like, Muster Blumfield, but I believe there be a God." The Bishop's name, with the date of his presentation (1811), is painted on the front of the gallery, also the names of several successive rectors, from Thomas Cock, in 1576. The Archdeacon remarked that the name Dunton used to be spelt Dodentone, which was supposed to have been derived from Dodda, a famous Earl of Mercia, who had extensive possessions in the country.

STEWKLEY Church, the most interesting object seen during the day, was next visited. Whether we consider the interior or the exterior, this edifice is certainly magnificent. Lysons remarks—that "it is the rival of Iffley, amongst the most ancient and most perfect Norman structures in England." Stewkley is situated upon the high ground, about 500 feet above the level of the sea, dividing the water-shed of the Ousel from that of the Thames. A copious spring rises in the neighbourhood; and the Archdeacon said that he always contended that Stewkley had the honour of being the source of the Thames. He also stated that some thought that Stewkley was a corruption of "stiff clay," from the nature of the soil in that neighbourhood. He, however, believed that a more probable derivation was that of Stig-lege, or "the place of the path." The company would have observed that the street was a long one. It was formerly spelt Stukeley. There is a remarkable absence of monuments here, which is explained by the fact that during the Civil War Cromwell's soldiers quartered their horses in the church. The church has been supposed by some to be partly of the Saxon period; but there are no evidences of that. Archæologists are agreed that it is of about the same date as the Norman fragment which had just been seen at Dunton, *i.e.*, A.D. 1070. This church in its past and present state has been fully described in a paper read April 19th, 1862, before the Society, by the Rev. C. H. Travers, the late vicar, and printed in the RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (Vol III., page 77).

The Rev. C. L. ALEXANDER, vicar of the parish, said he was about to take a bold step before a gathering of archæologists; but the necessities of the place made him bolder than he otherwise would have been. The population of the parish was 1500, and there was barely accommodation in the Church for 312. The Church was, no doubt, admired by the whole of England; but, after all, its utility was the great consideration rather than its contemplation as a monument of architectural beauty. His idea was, that if anything were done by way of enlargement, the characteristic features of the building ought to be maintained, every portion of its architectural details ought to be preserved, and the useful be made to combine with the ornamental. When the church was restored, one idea was to throw out transepts, but Mr. Street objected, because it would involve danger to the tower walls; and because, when the work was done, the result would be so small that it was not worth while to incur the danger and the cost. Another proposal was to lengthen the nave about eighteen feet, but that was objected to because it would destroy the proportions of the building. However, he had seen Mr. Street, and made some suggestions to him, but was at first met with a very blunt refusal. Mr. Street said he could not touch the Church. He did not feel inclined to take Mr. Street's no without a fight, and he showed him a model which he had prepared of the suggested alterations. The model was intended to show how the Church would look with a north aisle. Mr. Street, after seeing the model, said that if the enlargement were absolutely necessary he would carry out any design that might be agreed upon, as well as he could. The model being exhibited showed the addition of a north aisle and a vestry; a row of arches would run between the nave and the new aisle; the present walls, windows, etc., would be carried out and built up afresh, and every scrap of material would be preserved. The organ would then be removed from the chancel, where it is an eyesore, and placed beneath the tower. The new aisle would seat 180 additional people.

The members present expressed an opinion that, as archæologists, they were bound to protest against the proposal; though as churchmen, perhaps, they might look at the matter in a different light. This was one of the few perfect Norman churches in England, and, in an archæological point of view, it would be dreadful to disturb so fine a monument of antiquity.

The party then drove to Soulbury Church. Archdeacon Bickersteth explained that the manor of Soulbury had been for 500 years in the possession of the Lovets, whose ancestor, Richard de Lovet, came over with the Conqueror. Their armorial bearing, the wolf, was to be seen on many of the monuments. The chancel was of the Decorated period, of which the windows were beautiful specimens. The tower and the nave belonged to the Perpendicular period, dating from about the fifteenth century. Much of the church was built of clunch, or Totternhoe stone, the quarries of which were still in existence. These beds of stone form a lower part of the cretaceous system, and were formerly much used for building purposes. The Church was restored about eleven years ago by Mr. Street. The chancel is enriched by the tombs of the Lovet family, one dating as far back as 1304. The altar and reredos are beautifully worked, and in thorough keeping with the other portions of the edifice. One feature of note is a hagioscope, or oblique opening, to enable worshippers in the aisle to see what was going on at the altar. On the floor of the nave is a brass in memory of some members of a family named Bunyan, who claim to be descendants of the great John Bunyan. The derivation of Soulbury was Sahlbury, Sahl being the old British word for willow. In some places willow withs are still called sallies to this day, particularly in Ireland, where the word willow is not known. The derivation, therefore, of Sahlbury, or Sahlburg, would be *willow-camp;* and there was a great deal of low land in the parish, which may have been covered in ancient times with willows. Liscombe is derived from Lys, a palace, and combe, a hollow; so that Liscombe would mean "the palace on the edge of the hollow or lowland," a description which exactly answers to its position.

Leaving the church, and driving through what was once a noble park of 200 acres, a part of which is now enclosed, the party arrived at LISCOMBE HOUSE, where they received a warm and hearty welcome from the Misses Sergison, the present occupiers. Here the archæologists found objects of interest on all sides. The old ancestral house is, in itself, a treasure to antiquaries, and on its walls are numerous pictures of family and historical interest. The rich vegetation, the fine timber, the oaks and the spreading yews—one of the latter covering as much as twenty-five paces—were much admired. The Chantry Chapel is now used as a laundry. Archdeacon Bickersteth said that in the year 1301, as appeared by an extract from Bishop d'Alderby's register in the archives of Lincoln (see RECORDS OF BUCKS, Vol. I., p. 288), Robert Lovet, Lord of Liscombe, obtained permission of the Bishop of Lincoln to found a Chantry. The existing Chapel, however, evidently dates from about 1370, and was probably erected on the site of the first one. It contains some very beautiful Decorated work, but the appearance of the fine east window within has been spoiled by the construction of a low ceiling. The tracery, however, can be easily seen outside, and is a good specimen of the Decorated style. At one time this chapel was frequently resorted to for the solemnization of marriages. It would be very desirable to restore it, and make it the Chapel of the mansion.

The party were sumptuously entertained at luncheon by the Misses Sergison. Before leaving, Archdeacon Bickersteth gracefully conveyed to the ladies, who had with so amiability and courtesy done the honours of the house, the grateful thanks of all the company.

A start was then made for LEIGHTON BUZZARD, and the party halted at Queen Eleanor's Cross, which has been restored. A brief visit was made to the entrance gate of the monastery, which, with a window, are the only remains. The party then proceeded to the very magnificent old church, which is a spacious cruciform structure, and was without doubt attached to the monastery. The massive tower is surmounted by a fine octagonal spire 193 feet high, springing from the intersection with scarcely a break The sedilia in the chancel eastwards have very perfect Purbeck marble shafts, with a piscina, both of the thirteenth century. Over the vestry there is a parvise, or priest's chamber, from which, through a hole in the wall which is still in existence, the priest in charge of the night service was enabled to see whether the lights were all burning, and whether everything was safe. A hope was expressed that if the vestry were restored extreme care would be taken to preserve this feature. The vestry is of the Decorated period, but the doorway of the vestry, and indeed the original church, is of the Early English period. The beautifully designed wrought-iron scroll work on the door of the south transept excited great admiration. It is of the late Perpendicular period, and was made at Leighton, as was also, according to tradition, a great part of the ironwork of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at Westminster. In olden times, the country around Leighton being covered with large forests, afforded facilities for smelting and working iron, for which it became famous. The open-worked screen beneath the rood-loft is of the Perpendicular period, fifteenth century, and exists entire. The organ has been placed above it, and ought to be removed. In the chancel are the original massive oak stalls, curiously carved with the arms of abbots and patrons. The seats are made to turn up, and underneath is a small ledge on which the monk, when weary of standing for discipline, could rest; but if he were not watchful, or gave way to drowsiness, the ledge was so small that in all probability he would slip off. The old pulpit, placed near the vestry, is curiously carved; one panel at the back represents, in rude figures, the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, the putting off of the old and the assumption of a new life. A subterranean passage is said to have existed between the monastery and the church.

At LINSLADE National School Dr. Lawford exhibited several interesting curiosities. One was a remarkably perfect flint, found near the river Ouse, in the gravel, about six feet deep. It was exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, and was pronounced by a great authority, Mr. Evans, to be the genuine work of human hands. A great number of flints has been found, but none so perfect as this. Dr. Lawford showed some other flints, one of which was a facsimile of those found on the banks of the Somme. One specimen was mounted in wood, to show how it was used as a weapon of offence. These flints were found in a field, south of Leighton, belonging to Mr. Page. An urn was also found, almost entire, containing the bones of a child, and several pieces of another urn. They showed a rude attempt at ornamentation, and one was evidently made with straw. One bore very distinct marks of decoration by the thumb nail, referred to by Sir John Lubbock. There were lines of beauty about the one which was not ornamented. The bones found inside it were not calcined, although very nearly so. The urns were found in the sand-pit on the heath. On the banks of the Ouse were also found elephants' teeth, a piece of a tusk in a perfect state, and a lid of an urn of Samian ware.

Mr. Page kindly produced several rare books and coins, but the day had worn so late that there was not time to examine them. One prayer-book contained the prayer against Popery. Another book contained a verbatim report of the trial of King Charles.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The Ven. Archdeacon BICKERSTETH having taken the Chair, the Vice-Presidents were re-elected, as were also the Treasurer and the Secretaries—the Rev. C. Lowndes, the Rev. J. Wood, and the Rev. B. Burgess. With the latter resolution was conveyed a cordial vote of thanks for the interesting, pleasant, and profitable excursion that had been provided; and this, it is needless to say, was carried with applause.

The Rev. C. LOWNDES, after responding, read the Treasurer's statement of accounts for the past year, which showed an expenditure of £65 16s., and a balance due to the Treasurer of £14 7s. 4d. Many arrears of subscriptions have since been paid, and this debt is now cleared off.

A letter was read from Sir H. VERNEY, who said he was unable to attend because Buckingham flower-show fell on the same day as the excursion. He also stated that the Kent Archæological Society having exhausted Kent had joined themselves with a society in an adjoining county. It struck him that as Bucks was a much smaller county than Kent, it was likely to be much the same here, and he asked if it is not worth while to consider the propriety of uniting with some neighbouring society.

The Rev. CHAS. LOWNDES considered that they had better remain as they were. There were plenty of places in the county which had not been visited, and they had plenty to do at present in looking up those nooks and corners. Besides, if they joined another society, there would be a very large company, and the result might not be satisfactory.

Archdeacon BICKERSTETH said he agreed with Mr. Lowndes. It would be well to have active means of communication between other local societies, but they had by no means exhausted Buckinghamshire, therefore it would be well for the present to remain as they were. Sir Harry Verney's letter would however be considered in committee, and the hon. baronet would be communicated with.

The following new members were elected:—Miss Sergison, Liscombe House; Dr. Parr, Little Kimble; J. W. Williams, Esq., 5, Valentine Road, South Hackney, London; Sir Edward Lee, Rathmines Road, Dublin; Mr. T. Taylor, Newport Pagnall; Mr. F. J. Taylor, Newport Pagnell; T. F. Fremantle, Esq., Swanbourne; Dr. Lawford, Leighton; the Rev. D. Carson, Soulbury; the Rev. W. Roberts, Northall, Edlesborough; F. J. Morrell, Esq., St. Giles's, Oxford.

The Rev. C. Lowndes then exhibited some Roman articles—two silver spoons, a pin, a ring, and a brooch—found between Great Horwood and Winslow (see further particulars, page 209); also, two bronze fibulæ, of a common Saxon type, which were found at Long Marston in a grave, when the ground was excavated for the foundations of a stable at the new vicarage. The Rev. W. C. Masters, the Incumbent, has presented them to the Society's Museum.

The Rev. R. H. Hooper moved a cordial vote of thanks to the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth for his great kindness in presiding at their meeting. They were the more obliged to him for attending their excursion that day, because they all knew that he with the whole body of the church was suffering from the loss by death of Bishop Wilberforce.

The Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth said:—I thank you very much for your grateful words. I assure you that I have seldom gone through greater pain and sorrow than I have suffered during the past few days. (Hear, hear.) But my departed friend, Bishop Wilberforce, the late President of this Society, always taught me that we ought not to allow any private sorrow or trouble to interfere with what concerned the interest, the pleasure, or the satisfaction of others. Therefore, I do not think I should have been doing right in abstaining from attending on this occasion; and I was the more anxious to come, because I should not like this, the first meeting of our Society after the death of that eminent man, to pass without an expression on our part of our deep sense of the great loss we, in common with the whole country, have sustained. (Hear, hear.) Not only was he warmly interested in the subjects to which we have been devoting ourselves to-day, but I may add that he knew something of almost every object of general interest and utility. No conceivable subject which could concern the intellectual, the moral, or the religious advancement of the country was alien from his mind. The Bishop had it in his power, in a way which we may admire, but which we can never hope to imitate, to throw an interest into everything which he touched; and to make the proceedings at a meeting highly agreeable and satisfactory to every one who might have the opportunity and the privilege of being present. I have attended meetings of this Society in former days, when the late Bishop Wilberforce presided, and I recollect well what brightness he shed over the proceedings; and I know that since he has left us he has continued his interest in the pursuits of archæology. It is not long ago since he presided over an influential meeting of this kind at Chichester, taking the place of the Bishop of Chichester; and there was the same sunny presence, the same genial, intelligent appreciation of everything that was brought before him; the same desire to add to the stock of information in an agreeable way. His loss to every class, from the highest to the lowest, is untold. I always said, whilst the Bishop was living, that he would never be appreciated in his life as he would be appreciated after his death; and I am very certain that the longer we live, the more we shall see what a heavy loss every intellectual society, every Church Congress, every Diocesan meeting, every social, literary, or religious gathering, has sustained by his removal, in God's mysterious Providence. All we can now say is, that we who have had the privilege of his acquaintance, must do our very best, must do all we can, to supply the great and irreparable loss which has befallen us; and I trust that his example may long be present to our memories as a bright and beautiful pattern of what a man, living all his life for God, and with all his heart devoted to God, can do for the intellectual, social, and moral improvement of his generation. The Archdeacon then said: I am sure that all present will join with me in an expression of their best thanks to the Misses Sergison, for their extremely kind reception of us this day. (Applause.) We have learnt to appreciate them very much since they came into the county, and it is with great regret we hear that they are about to leave us. (Cheers.) It is, however, a little mitigation of that regret, as showing that they will not forget Buckinghamshire, to find that although Miss Sergison is leaving us, she has just enrolled herself as a member of the society. (Cheers.) By the hospitality which she has exercised, at a short notice, Miss Sergison has shown the possession of administrative powers of the highest order—(cheers)—and the Archæological Society join in conveying their best wishes for the health and happiness of herself and her sisters in the county which will be so fortunate as to have them as residents.

At Linslade there was a general breaking up of the party, consequently only a few visited WING on the road home. The derivation of Wing, Wenge, or Wang, the Archdeacon said, was Saxon, and it means "a separate piece of land." The church contains some Saxon work. It is remarkable for its apsidal, polygonal chancel, raised high above the nave. A crypt, which exists beneath this, was filled up with rubbish at the restoration effected by Mr. Scott some years ago. It was said to contain some good Saxon work, was 8ft. high, and was entered by steps from the nave. The entrance is now unfortunately closed. A rude arcade runs round the exterior of the apse, which is considered by some good authorities to be also of the Saxon period, perhaps of the eleventh century. The windows are much later. The mass of the nave appears to be Norman, and the Archdeacon said that in his opinion the heavy massive arches which connect the nave with the aisles are Norman also. The base of an old Norman font is to be seen in the south porch, with the cable ornaments. There are several fine tombs belonging to the Dormers. This family came into possession of the manor on the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey, who had held it since the suppression of the monasteries; and the Dormers held possession till 1709. Some of their tombs have full length, recumbent figures; one bears date 1552. There is another monument said to be the work of Roubiliac. In one of the aisles is a curious brass to the memory of Thomas Coates, porter at Ascot Hall, in 1648. Ascot Hall was built by the Dormers, one portion being the work of Inigo Jones, but in 1720 it began to fall into decay, and now it has wholly disappeared. Only the remains of fish-ponds, moats, and bowling alleys can now be discerned. The churchwardens' account-books, which go back as far as 1527, contain many curious entries, especially those referring to the period of the Reformation. One order was to read Bishop Jewel's "Book of Sports." The notorious Dr. Dodd, who was executed for forging the name of Lord Chesterfield, was once vicar here, and his old pulpit is still in use. He is said to have preached but four sermons in the parish, and the last one was from the following words:—"And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of the foot have rest: but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shall have none assurance of thy life; in the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even, and at even, Would God it were morning, for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see."

On leaving Wing the company finally separated, after a long but instructive excursion.

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FOR THE COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

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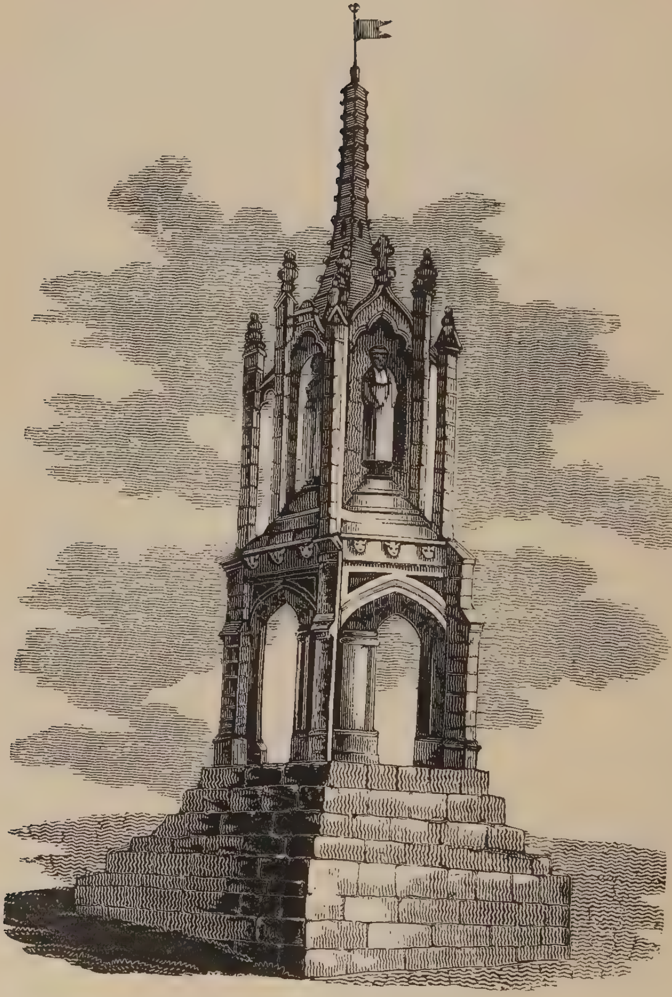

Leighton Buzzard Cross, before its Restoration in 1852.

[*To face page* 221.

THE MARKET CROSS AT LEIGHTON BUZZARD.

BY DR. LAWFORD.

[In the report of the Annual Excursion of last year (1873), the word "Eleanor" before "Cross at Leighton Buzzard," page 212, line 28, ought to have been omitted. The Cross is a Market Cross. There were originally twelve Eleanor Crosses erected by Edward I., in memory of his beloved Queen Eleanor. At the early age of fifteen, Prince Edward was espoused to Eleanor of Castile, then only ten years of age. She remained in France till her twentieth year, when she came over to England and joined the Prince, and accompanied him in all his expeditions and wars. She died at Herdeby, County Notts., Nov. 18th, 1290; her body was moved for burial to Westminster Abbey, and took fourteen days in transit, from the 4th to the 17th of December. The widowed monarch accompanied the funeral procession on its route, which was circuitous, in order to include certain religious houses; and to show his affection for his Queen, he erected a memorial cross at Herdeby, and at every place where the corpse rested, viz., Lincoln, Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Dunstable, St. Albans, Waltham, West Cheap and Charing. Of these crosses, three only remain—one at Geddington, another at Northampton, and the third at Waltham.—Ed.]

Among the fine old market crosses which the lapse of time has spared, is the Market Cross* at Leighton Buzzard, in Bedfordshire, supposed to have been erected in the reign of Edward III. In consequence of its having become very much dilapidated, a wish was expressed by the inhabitants for its restoration. By the liberality of Colonel Hanmer, of Stockgrove House, who purchased the manor, which had been held many years by the family of Lord Leigh, aided by some influential gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, the restoration was commenced in November, 1852, and was completed in the following May, under the direction of Mr. Cox, architect, of Leighton, who faithfully carried out the design of the restoration. The figures of the old Cross, which were in a very dilapidated condition, have been placed round the Market House, and those on the present structure have been beautifully executed by Mr. Cox, who was the sculptor of the Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford.*

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* The accompanying illustration is from a wood-block kindly lent

Dr. Lawford.

The Cross consists of two stories, the lower covered with a stone groining, which, in its turn, forms the base of the second story. The tracery of this lower portion is remarkably good. It rests upon five buttresses, and a centre shaft, with small shafts and caps at the angles internally; the cornice is charged with gurgoiles and grotesque heads, and is surmounted by a pierced parapet embattled.

The second story contains five statues, arranged in the following order:—Facing the chief street of the town, is the Virgin with the child; on her right, a bishop, possibly the bishop of the diocese for the time being; on her left, a venerable crowned and bearded figure, conjectured to be King Edward III.; on the right of the bishop, St. John the Baptist, with the Agnus Dei and a book; on the left of the King, the figure of Christ, having risen from the tomb.

The five outer buttresses are also affixed to the jambs by tracery work, forming flying buttresses at the angles. The centre of the cross is a large crocketed pinnacle surmounted, until recently, by a wrought-iron vane, over which stood a cross and crown; whether this formed part of the original structure is uncertain. Under the foundation-stone, which was laid by Colonel Hanmer, was deposited the following inscription:—

LEIGHTON BUZZARD.

This ancient Gothic cross is said to have been erected A.D. 1350. Temp. Edward III.

A.D. 1620, it was repaired by a rate of fourpence levied upon each inhabitant, and it has since received several imperfect restorations.

At the present date, 1852, its very dilapidated state being much deplored, the Lord of the Manor, aided by some of the wealthier inhabitants of the town, raised the following liberal subscriptions:—

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* I am indebted for some of these particulars to Mr. H. Foster, who kindly sent me a newspaper of the time.

	£	s	d.
Col. Hanmer, K. H., Lord of the Manor	140	0	0
Mrs. Grant	52	10	0
Mr. Bassett	52	10	0
Mr. F. Bassett	26	5	0
Mr. Joseph Procter	26	5	0
Mr. C. Ridgway	26	5	0
Mr. E. Lawford	26	5	0
	£350	0	0

And it was restored to its former beauty and original state. An additional £75 was subscribed for a new iron palisade by Col. Hanmer and J. D. Bassett, Esq.

The following extract is from a Lecture on the "Early History of Leighton Buzzard and its neighbourhood," by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, the learned author of the Pre-reformation Period, who was in 1850 Vicar of Leighton. Speaking of the marriages which took place in front of the Market Cross, he says:—

"There are traces of a singular state of affairs which prevailed here once upon a time; and the register proclaims what strange sights our town must have witnessed two centuries ago. When the Commonwealth Parliament had succeeded in dethroning their rightful sovereign, and had put down the Church of England by a vote of the House, they set about framing a new code of laws in Church and State, better adapted to that novel condition of affairs which it was their pleasure to introduce into this kingdom. The Prayer-book having been superseded, then came the question, how were people to be married? They made a blunder, in my opinion, when they proposed that people might be married by a justice of the peace in a private house; and I apprehend that the greater proportion of the women of England thought so likewise. The banns of marriage might be proclaimed at any public place, at the Market Cross if you liked, and at the Market Cross they were proclaimed. The register contains the records of many of these marriages, which took place during the period of the Commonwealth, from 1650 to 1660. I will read you one or two of them, for they tell their own tale better than I can pretend to tell it for them. "Thomas Doggett,* the son of Ralph Doggett, of Laighton Beaudesert, was married to Elizabeth Edwards, of Biggleswade, the daughter Thomas Edwards, of Langford, county Bedford, by Samuel Bedford, Esq., their contract having been published in Leighton on three market dates, February 21st and 28th, and March 7th, 1653." I may mention, in passing, that these dates clearly establish the fact that the market was held in Leighton at that time on the Saturday, not on the Tuesday, as now.

"William Cooper, the son of John Cooper, of Alesbury, was married to Faith Gibbons, servant in this town, the daughter of Samuel Gibbons, of Little Gadsden, county Hartford, by Capt. Smith.

"The chief performers of marriages at this time were this same Capt. Smith and Francis Astrey, Esq."

About the year 1830, on the introduction of street lamps into the town, it occurred to the authorities that it would be advisable to utilize the cross; and, accordingly, five lamps were placed on the five buttresses. These escaped the shafts of criticism until the "Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society" favoured us with a visit. On that occasion a member requested to be informed by some inhabitant of the town if the structure in the centre of the High Street was "an ornamental lamp-post." This just rebuke had its desired effect, and we are indebted to the visit of the Society for the removal of the lamps. It merely remains to be stated that the "Market Cross" is regarded with considerable interest by the town and neighbourhood; its graceful outline is to be seen on China plates manufactured for the town, and the "Bedfordshire Architectural Society" depicts its image on their lozenge-shaped shield; but it attracts not many pilgrims, probably because its beauties are unknown.

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* Members of this family still reside in the town.

It is to be regretted that this beautiful structure has been surrounded by modern iron palisades, which, however useful they may be in warding off the attacks of the street Arabs, are, nevertheless, to be deprecated on the score of taste.

ROMANO BRITISH URN DISCOVERED AT BIERTON.

Part of a large urn, fifteen inches in diameter and twelve inches in depth, has been presented by Mr. Bell, of Bierton, to the Society's Museum. It was discovered on his farm about three feet from the surface, and was broken by the workmen. It is composed of gray marl abounding in fragments of shells similar to the marl of the neighbourhood. It has not been glazed, has been imperfectly burnt, and has received a rude attempt at ornamentation.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY REV. J. R. PRETYMAN, M.A.

FALL OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

(*Continued from page* 186.)

I have stated in the last paper some of the causes of this change, and some of the steps by which it was accomplished. A few more remarks seem due to this subject. The reign of Henry VII. has been mentioned as the era when feudalism ceased to be an important element in the public polity. In connection with this statement, I have mentioned the Act of Parliament passed by that King, facilitating the alienation of feudal tenure and property. I may now mention another of his Acts, which tended much to diminish the power and consequence of the feudal nobles, and to discourage the system of feudalism : his Act for limiting the number of the retainers which might be kept by each feudal chief. A well-known and characteristic anecdote of the application of this Act by the author of it, may here be mentioned. In receiving the King on a visit, De Vere, Earl of Oxford, displayed an excessive number of his dependants, dressed in the livery of his house, with a view of doing the greater honour to his royal guest. When, after passing a few days with the Earl, the King was taking his departure, he observed to his host, "My Lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but my attorney must speak to you about the number of your retainers, for I cannot have my laws broken to my face." Accordingly, the Attorney-General was ordered to prosecute the Earl, who in the end was sentenced to pay £10,000, an enormous fine for those days. The proceeding was well worthy of the cold temper and calculating policy of the King. His policy in general was in every way to depress the nobility and to raise up the middle class ; and in this policy he was followed by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. Indeed, at this era of European history, the feudal system in other countries also where it had prevailed, was fast falling to the ground, and the same policy of hastening its destruction and of erecting a despotism on its ruins was being carried out by the Sovereigns of those countries. Some remnants of the feudal forms remained, however, in this country, for nearly two centuries longer; but the spirit of feudalism had ceased to operate, and its forms had now no other use but to enable the Crown to exercise a certain domination over the nobility, and that of a kind which, now that the purpose of feudalism were extinct, was felt to be vexatious and oppressive. The Crown had still retained some portion of its right over certain of the nobility in matters of wardship, reliefs, and marriage; and the exercise of these rights, so far as they could be exercised, by Charles I. for the purpose of raising money without Parliamentary aid, was one of the many ways in which he sowed the seeds of that disaffection which resulted in the Rebellion with all its disastrous consequences. The oppressiveness of these lingering feudal rights of the Crown led, after the Restoration, to the abolition of them in the passing of the Act of the thirteenth year of Charles II., for the Abolition of the Court of Wardship and Marriage. Notwithstanding, however, this final extinction of the feudal rights of the Crown—unless we consider the custom of Bishops doing homage to the Sovereign, before they receive the "livery of seizin" (such is the feudal term) of their temporalities, a remnant of feudal usage—yet some of the incidents of feudalism remain in antiquated forms at the present day. The rights still possessed by Lords of Manors are relics of feudal practice. In particular, the copyhold estates held under them, are surviving representations of tenure in villain-socage. In these estates we find still a resemblance of ancient reliefs in the "heriots," which in some manors are paid to the Lord before a new copyholder is admitted to a tenure or estate. "Heriot" is the old Saxon word equivalent to a "relief." The amount and nature of "heriot" varies with the different manors wherein the custom of heriot still exists. Sometimes it is a fixed payment of money according to the "custom of the manor." In some cases the Lord has the right to take the best chattel or piece of personal property to be found upon the estate of a deceased copyholder before a new possessor is admitted to the enjoyment of it. Fines, also, on the alienation of these estates, and on the admission of a new holder, are payable to the Lord. Many of the mere forms and phrases of feudalism are observed in the admission of new copyholders, and in the manner of holding the annual Courts of Lords and Manors, which preserve their ancient name of "Courts-Baron" and "Courts-Leet," and rendering "suit and service" to the Lord of the Manor. There is also a feudal right remaining in many of the market towns, where a toll or tax is paid to the Lord of the Manor on the exposure of articles for sale in the market. The amount of this toll is regulated by custom. It is a relic of the old right of "tallage" (a word with which the word "toll" is cognate), which the Lords of Manors exercised over the towns in their demesnes, often in a very arbitrary manner, and which, in feudal days, was a fertile source of oppression on the one side, and of complaint on the other. All these incidents connected with existing lordships of manors are curious; and the reference here made to them may serve towards bringing down the history of feudalism to this day, and towards reflecting some light upon the past history of that institution.

It is remarkable that when, by the Act of the thirteenth year of Charles II., the Crown was deprived of all its remaining feudal powers, the surviving rights of Lords of Manors should have been spared. The reason for this unequal arrangement is to be sought in the wish of Charles' Government to conciliate all classes of his subjects: the nobility, by giving up a vexatious remnant of power over them, and the Lords of Manors by leaving *their* rights untouched. Indeed, throughout the whole history of feudalism is seen a disposition on the part of holders under the Crown to obtain a relaxation of their obligations to the Kings, and at the same time to retain their own rights over those persons who held under them.

CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON, A.D. 1164.

These Constitutions or Statutes take their designation from a place at which they were enacted, a village in Wiltshire, where the kings of those days had one of their numerous residences, and where Henry II. held on this occasion a great Council or Parliament. The subject of this piece of legislation may be briefly stated to have been "the Relations of Church and State"—a subject on which great divisions and disputes have occurred on many occasions in modern history: and as the Constitutions of Clarendon are of so much importance from their nature and consequences, I propose to dwell upon them at a greater length than is usual in these papers. I shall first transcribe a translation of these Constitutions, which are written in the barbarous law Latin of that period; I shall then give a short summary of them, and make some observations tending to explain their wording and their significance.

Now, the Constitutions of Clarendon, as I take them from Selden's work on the old laws of England, called "Janus Anglorum," a work which any advanced student of constitutional history would be wise in perusing, are as follows:—

CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON.

I. If any dispute concerning any advowson or presentation of churches shall arise between laymen, or between ecclesiastics and laymen, or between ecclesiastics, let it be tried and determined in the Court of our Lord the King.

II. Churches belonging to the fee of our Lord the King cannot be given away in perpetuity without the consent and grant of the King.

III. Ecclesiastics arraigned and accused of any matter, being summoned by the King's Justiciary, shall come into his Court to answer there concerning that which it shall appear unto the King's Court is cognizable there; and shall answer in the Ecclesiastical Court concerning that which it shall appear is cognizable there; so, that the King's Justiciary shall send to the Court of Holy Church to see in what manner the cause shall be tried there. And if an Ecclesiastic shall be convicted or confess his crime, the Church ought not any longer to give him protection.

IV. It is unlawful for Archbishops, Bishops, and any dignified clergyman of the realm, to go out of the realm without the King's licence; and if they shall go, they shall, if it so please the King, give security that they will not, either in going, staying, or returning, procure any evil or damage to the King or the kingdom.

V. Persons excommunicated ought not to give any security for remaining,* nor take any oath, but only find security and pledge to stand to the judgment of the Church in order to absolution.

VI. Laymen ought not to be accused unless by certain and legal accusers and witnesses, in presence of the Bishop, so that the Archdeacon may not lose his right, or anything which should thereby accrue to him; and if the offending persons be such as that none will or dare accuse them, the Sheriff being thereto required by the Bishop, shall cause twelve lawful men of the vicinage or town, to make oath before the Bishop to declare the truth of the matter according to their conscience.

VII. No tenant-in-chief of the King, nor any of the officers of his demesne, shall be excommunicated, nor shall the lands of any of them be put under an interdict, unless application shall first have been made to our Lord the King, if he be in the kingdom, or if he be out of the kingdom, to his Justiciary, that he may do right concerning such person; and in such manner, as that what shall belong to the King's Court, shall be there determined, and what shall belong to the Ecclesiastical Court, shall be sent thither, that it may be there determined.

VIII. Concerning appeals, if any shall arise, they ought to proceed from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop; and if the Archbishop should fail in doing justice, the case shall in the last place be brought to our Lord the King, that by his precept the dispute may be determined in the Archbishop's Court, so that it ought not to proceed any further without the consent of our Lord the King.

IX. If there shall arise any dispute between an ecclesiastic and a layman, or between a layman and an ecclesiastic, about any tenement which the ecclesiastic pretends to be held in frank almoigne, and the layman pretends to be a lay fee, it shall be determined before the King's Chief Justiciary by the trial of twelve lawful men, whether the tenement belongs to frank almoigne, or is a lay fee; and if it be found to be frank almoigne, then it shall be pleaded in the Ecclesiastical Court; but if a lay fee, then in the King's Court, unless both parties shall claim to hold of the same Bishop or Baron. And if both shall claim to hold the said fee under the same Bishop or Baron, the plea shall be in his court, provided that by reason of such trial the party who was first seized shall not lose his seizin till it shall finally have been determined by the law.

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* "Ad remanens." The meaning is obscure.

X. Whosoever is of any city, or castle, or borough, or demesne-manor of our Lord the King, if he shall be cited by the Archdeacon or Bishop for any offence upon which he ought to make answer to them, and shall refuse to make a satisfactory return to such citation, it is allowable to put him under an interdict, but he ought not to be excommunicated before the King's chief officer of the town be applied to, that he may by due course of law, compel him to answer accordingly; and if the King's officer shall fail them, such officer shall be at the mercy of our Lord the King; and then the Bishop may compel the person accused by ecclesiastical justice.

XI. Archbishops, Bishops, and all dignified clergymen, who hold of the King in chief, have their possessions from the King as a barony, and answer thereupon to the King's Justices and officers, and follow and perform all rights and customs due to the King, and, like all other Barons, ought to be present at the trials of the King's Court with the Barons till the judgment proceeds to loss of members or death.

XII. When an Archbishopric, or Bishopric, or Abbey, or Priory of the King's domain shall be vacant, it ought to be in the hands of the King, and he shall receive the rents and issues thereof, as of his demesne; and when that church is to be supplied, our lord the King ought to send for the principal clergy of that church, and the election ought to be made in the King's chapel, with the assent of our Lord the King, and the advice of such of the prelates of the kingdom as he shall call for that purpose; and the person elect shall there do homage and fealty to our Lord the King as his liege lord, of life, limb, and worldly honour (saving his order), before he be consecrated.

XIII. If any nobleman of the realm shall for himself, or those who belong to him, forcibly withhold right from any Archbishop, Bishop, or Archdeacon, the King ought to do justice upon them; and if any shall forcibly resist the King in any of his rights, the Archbishops, Bishops, and Archdeacons ought to do justice upon him, that he may make satisfaction to our Lord the King.

XIV. The chattels of those who are under forfeiture to the King ought not to be detained in any church or churchyard, against the King's Justiciary, because they belong to the King, whether they are found in the churches or without.

XV. Pleas of debt, whether they be due by faith solemnly pledged, or without faith so pledged, belong to the King's judicature.

XVI. The sons of villains ought not to be ordained without the consent of the Lords in whose lands they were known to have been born.

Such are the famous Constitutions of Clarendon, which made so great a stir in the world of that day, and which, indeed, contain in a mediæval form some principles which have been under discussion from the time when the Roman Empire became Christian—the principles involved in the relations between civil and ecclesiastical authority.

I proceed, however, now to give some explanation of the terms, and to make some remarks upon the nature and occasion of these several enactments.

With reference to the first of these Constitutions, I shall premise that the advowson of an ecclesiastical benefice, or, as we commonly term it, a living, was considered to imply as now, the perpetual right of presenting a clergyman to that living.

Advowson is the English word formed from the Latin "advocatio;" for the patron of a living was in Latin termed, "Advocatus ecclesiæ." The patron was so called because, besides enjoying the privilege of presentation, it was his duty to defend, advocate, the rights of the church to which he presented.

In those days the right of presenting to livings was a constant subject of dispute between Bishops and laymen.

The first quarrel that arose between Becket and the King, originated in a claim asserted by Becket to put a nominee of his own into the living of Eynesford, in Kent, while a certain William de Eynesford, who was Lord of the Manor and a tenant in capite of the King, claimed the right of presentation. The King, on appeal made to him by his tenant, took part with him in the quarrel.

According to an ancient ecclesiastical theory, well known in those days, and evidently held by Becket himself, the right of appointment to all benefices in their respective dioceses, really rested with the Bishops, though they might in particular instances waive their claim.

Further, it should be noticed, for the full understanding of this constitution, that the Ecclesiastical Courts claimed to adjudicate in cases of disputed presentation.

All of these Constitutions, were, as you know, directed severally against different privileges claimed by the ecclesiastical power, and this article, we observe, ordains that all disputes concerning patronage, should be determined in the King's Courts in contradistinction to the Ecclesiastical Courts.

2. The term, the King's Fee, means a manor held of the King by military service.

Here it is prohibited that the benefices comprised in such manors be handed over to religious houses, which, being perpetual corporations, would have them in perpetuity.

To dispose thus of benefices was by no means an uncommon practice. In a future letter I shall advert to it, and to the consequences which have resulted.

3. This Constitution involves, as you are probably aware, one of the principal questions at issue between the King and his party on the one hand, and Becket and his party on the other. Becket and those who held with him, claimed that in most cases, clergymen accused of offences against the King's laws, should be tried in the Ecclesiastical Courts alone.

The distinction of the ecclesiastical from the temporal courts had its origin in a regulation of William the Conqueror's, by which the Bishop, who had hitherto sat with the Alderman in the shire-mote or hundred-mote, and had with him presided in trials both of civil and ecclesiastical causes, was withdrawn from these courts and allowed to exercise a separate jurisdiction of his own in ecclesiastical matters. By degrees, the courts of the Bishops and their officers assumed the rights of exclusive jurisdiction over the clergy, so that the latter should not be amenable to the civil tribunals for offences against the laws of the realm.

Against this assumption the present Article was framed. The plea employed by the King and his Barons in favour of this regulation was, that the punishment inflicted by the Ecclesiastical Courts for offences against the King's laws, was insufficient. Becket and his party urged the right of custom for the immunity in question, and contended that as a clerk offending against the laws of the kingdom would be punished by the Ecclesiastical Courts, it would be unjust that he should receive another punishment by the sentence of the temporal courts.

They were, however, willing to concede that a clerk, guilty of a second offence, should be amenable to the temporal courts.

To appreciate fully the interest of this controversy, it should be borne in mind that under the term "clergy," was comprehended a far larger and more miscellaneous class than in these days. There were then four orders of "clerks," besides Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; orders comprehending multitudes of men in the lower ranks of society, who still followed secular occupations.

Hence the cause of the "clergy" in those days was in great measure the cause of the lower classes in the kingdom—a fact of which the significance is to be borne in mind in considering this and the last of these Articles. Reverting, however, to the terms of the present article, I will endeavour to explain the purport of the following clause, which from a perhaps intentional vagueness, is not very clear, "So that the King's Justice send unto the court of Holy Church to see after what manner the business there shall be handled."

From what had passed in an Assembly at Westminster, held in the previous year, and at which the King made similar propositions to Becket and the other Bishops, we may understand these words to mean, that a Clerk who had been convicted in the King's Court, should be sent to the Spiritual Court to be degraded before he suffered his sentence, and that an officer of the King's Court should accompany him into the Spiritual Court, with the view of preventing his escape from the infliction of the punishment to which he had been previously sentenced. For, if he were delivered by the King's Court into the hands of the officers of the Spiritual Court, he might be permitted to escape, especially if the spiritual court should after trial acquit him of the charge under which he had been convicted by the King's Court.

4. This Article, forbidding any of the higher and beneficed clergy to depart from the kingdom without the King's leave, was, it will be observed subsequently, repealed in one of the provisions of Magna Charta, by which liberty to leave the kingdom was granted to all the subjects of the King. The object of the present article was to preclude any of the persons in question, who might think himself aggrieved by the King or his officers, from resorting in person to the Pope, from whose authority, then generally acknowledged, redress might be expected.

A recollection of the last fact will throw a clear light on the remaining words of the article.

It is probable that Henry II. and his advisers anticipated what we know actually happened, that Becket would (like his predecessor, Anselm, when engaged in a contest with Henry I.) flee to the Pope to obtain his aid in the dispute with the King.

5. The meaning of this is that excommunicated persons were not to be required by the Ecclesiastical Court to give securities that they should remain in the same place in which they were residing when sentence was passed upon them, and which would be within the extent of the jurisdiction of that particular Court.

It appears that, in order to escape the consequences of their sentence, it had sometimes been the practice of excommunicated persons to transfer their abode from the district over which the jurisdiction of the Court extended.

To prevent this method of avoiding the effect of their censures, these courts had required from persons who had been excommunicated, the security of an oath, which, as we see, the present article forbids.

6. The point of this Article is, that the accusers and witnesses, by whom a charge shall be proved against a layman in the Bishop's Court, shall be legal and reputable persons. It appears from Ecclesiastical History that these Courts were not always duly discriminating as to the character of those who appeared as witnesses against accused persons. The requirement that they

should be legal persons, such as the law of the land would recognize, was a clear interference with the ecclesiastical authority as regards its methods of exercising jurisdiction.

In the requirement contained in the last part of this Article, that the Sheriff shall, in the case specified, "cause twelve lawful men," etc., we have probably a specimen of the "accusatory juries," "jurata delatoria" of that time, which are considered to be the originals of our modern grand juries. The introduction of this kind of jury into the Ecclesiastical Courts would be an innovation on the regular method of those Courts, in which the Bishop or his deputy was the sole judge of both fact and law. In this Article we observe both that a succour is apparently given to the enforcement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the power it conferred upon the Bishop to call in the Sheriffs, when any powerful personage is accused, and that a protection is thrown over the accused by the introduction of quasi-jury trial.

The clause, "so that the Archdeacon may not lose his right, nor anything he ought to have therefrom," appears to refer to the pecuniary profits which the Archdeacon derived from these suits, which, as it would seem, the change in the mode of trial might otherwise have affected.

7. The gist of this Article is, that no one of the King's tenants in capite, or officers, should be excommunicated, until the Civil Court should have first inquired into the case, and have determined that it came within the competence of the ecclesiastical tribunal.

It is to be observed that the benefits of this provision are not extended to the King's subjects generally, but only to the Barons and other principal men.

8. In ecclesiastical cases where the King was a party, or was otherwise interested, an appeal to Rome was a powerful resource which the adverse party might employ. The following clause in this article requires explanation :—"if the Archbishop shall fail to do justice, the cause shall at last be brought to our Lord the King, that by his precept the cause may be determined in the Archbishop's Court." The practical result of this provision was, that after coming in appeal to the King's Court, the case would be sent back to the Archbishop's Court, with an

order that it should there be determined according to the decision of the King's Court. In effect this article aimed at the object which Henry VIII. afterwards accomplished—the making the King supreme in all ecclesiastical causes.

9. It appears clearly from this article, that if a suit arose between a cleric and a layman concerning a tenement, and if further, the cleric alleged that it was held under the church, while the layman, on the contrary, alleged that it was a lay tenement, the Ecclesiastical Court claimed to determine the question of the nature of the tenure. We observe that in this article it is ordained that if in a dispute relating to a tenement the preliminary question was raised as to the nature of the tenure, the King's Chief Justiciary shall, with the aid of a jury of twelve men, determine this particular question of the tenure.

This point having been thereby determined, the Article prescribes the course to be pursued for settling the dispute concerning the tenement itself.

The last clause "provided that, by reason of such trial," etc., means that the determination of the question concerning the nature of the tenure should not affect the claims of the present tenant, but that these should be adjudicated upon in the Court to whose cognizance it had been by the previous suit determined that they belonged.

10. This article extends to persons belonging to the King's domain a similar protection from the arbitrary excommunication of the Spiritual Court, as had by Article the seventh been given to the tenants in chief of the crown and its officers.

Persons belonging to the King's domain are not to be excommunicated until the King's chief officer has notice of the intention, so that he may order the accused to answer in the Ecclesiastical Court. Now as this provision leaves the King's Chief Justice to decide whether the accused ought to answer in the Ecclesiastical Court, it is tantamount to a provision that no such person as is here described shall be excommunicated without the previous approbation of the King's Court.

Between, however, the tenants in capite and officers of the King on the one hand, and the persons here described on the other hand, this distinction is made in favour of the former, that they only may not be put under an interdict without the sanction of the King or his Justice.

Further, in the present case provision is made, which is not made in the former case, for the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction upon the accused party in the event of the King's Justice failing to do his duty in the matter. It is evident from this and other points how large a share the Barons at Clarendon had in the framing of these Constitutions, and how studiously their interest is consulted in them.

11. This article is directed to enforce the attendance of the Archbishops and Bishops, and other high ecclesiastics, who as Barons would sit in the Great Council, at trials, with the exception here stated. It may be observed that William the Conqueror had converted all the higher ecclesiastical offices into Baronies, so as to make them dependent on the Crown, and liable, like other Baronies, to certain services towards the King. On the ground of their baronial tenure, these personages are here required to aid in the judicial functions of the Great Council, and thus to perform a duty against which, as claiming by virtue of their spiritual office a certain independence of the Crown, they would be reluctant.

The aim of this Article is the removal of all such distinction between the spiritual and temporal magnates, as would leave the former less dependent than the latter upon the Crown.

12. In the provision of this Article that during the vacancy of a see or abbey, the profits should go to the King as belonging to his domain, we may observe that the same principle of the baronial tenure of these appointments is asserted as in the last article; for, during the minority of a vassal, which would bear some analogy to the vacancy of a see, the profits of a fief would go to the King's use.

Further, we may observe, that a too manifest motive is hereby supplied for a practice, which William Rufus often followed, of keeping the higher church appointments vacant for more than a due length of time. With regard to the election of these functionaries, I would mention that the chapters of cathedrals or of abbeys, claimed, though they seldom were able freely to exercise, the right of electing to a vacancy.

The King constantly sought to gain those appointments for his own nominees by persuading or intimidating the electors, while these would have an additional motive to elect the King's nominee in the consideration that it rested with the King to grant to the person elected, or to withhold from him, the temporalities of the see or abbey, which constituted its baronial character.

In the present article requiring the election to be made in the King's chapel, and therefore under the personal influence of the King, and by his assent and that of his councillors, a manifest and effectual security was taken for the election of the King's nominee.

I have in a former paper explained the nature of feudal homage and fealty. The words, "in his life and limbs," etc., are a part of the oath of fealty.

13. Observe that in this article it is provided that in the case specified, that is to say, an encroachment committed by some temporal magnate upon the rights or property of an Archbishop, Bishop, or Archdeacon, the King, not the ecclesiastical power, is to do justice; a provision in exact accordance with the drift of all these articles.

The second particular of this Article appears to be another blow to the magnates of the spirituality, in requiring them, retrenched as their assumptions are throughout these articles, still to be instruments for punishing by spiritual censures those who might infringe upon the rights of the King.

14. This article is very plain. You are probably aware that persons fleeing from justice could take sanctuary in certain ecclesiastical precincts, and, while they remained there, escape punishment.

It appears that a practice had arisen for convicted persons, with the apparent sanction or connivance of the clergy, to place their chattels which had been forfeited to the King, in the sacred enclosure of church or churchyard, in which case it would be accounted a kind of sacrilege to remove them. The article, however, denies the right of thus withdrawing from the King's possession the goods which had been forfeited to him in the course of law.

15. With regard to this article, it should be premised that the Ecclesiastical Courts adjudicated in various matters of a mixed and secular kind, such as wills, marriages, and the guardianship of widows and orphans. It

appears that they also claimed cognizance of matters of debt, when the debtor had sworn to pay within a time, and had thus contracted an obligation of conscience and good faith, the breach of which obligation would be a spiritual offence. In the present article this claim is repudiated.

16. This, the last, is by no means the least important of the Constitutions of Clarendon, as throwing a clear light on the views of the Barons in the whole transaction, and as affecting in no mean degree the interests of the humbler classes of society; and thus as explaining the cause both of the hearty concurrence of the Barons in the King's policy on this occasion, and of the support and sympathy which Becket received from the multitude.

In my remarks in the third article, I pointed out how large a class of the community was interested in the question of clerical privileges. This last article was directed to the limitation of that class, and to maintain the full domination of the feudal aristocracy over its serfs and dependants. Men of secular callings indiscriminately could receive the minor orders at the hands of the Bishops, and were thus initiated into all the privileges and immunities of the clerical vocation. They were hereby set free from their obligations of feudal subordinates, and became members of a large and powerful corporation, able to defend its rights and franchises when they were attacked in the person of the meanest of its members.

Further, when once admitted to the clerical order, the son of a serf or villain could aspire to the highest preferments of the Church, and thus to positions of dignity and territorial authority and power, which would quite place him on a level with the proudest of the lay Barons.

In the closing, therefore, of this avenue to freedom, and often to greatness also, which was open to all of humble birth, it is evident how adversely the interests of the lower classes were affected; and the consideration will fully illustrate the fact that the strength of Becket's party lay in the attachment, not only of the great body of the clergy, but of the mass of the population also.

In reviewing the Constitutions of Clarendon, we cannot fail to be struck with the comprehensiveness and boldness of the scheme of ecclesiastical legislation which they involve.

Touching upon almost every point at which the rival pretensions of the ecclesiastical and secular powers would come into contact, those enactments were opposed in spirit to prejudices and sentiments which widely prevailed in that age. Only the royal and baronial powers combined, and wielded by so vigorous a hand as that of the second Henry, could have inaugurated changes so opposed at the same time to the interests of the clergy and to the feelings of the great body of the people. The King, indeed, and his party professed that these enactments merely embodied the customs or "usages" of his royal predecessors, the Conqueror and his sons; but this statement was at variance with fact, as the Constitutions were in one particular contradictory of the arrangement which had been made between Henry I. and Anselm, and were generally opposed to the well-known liberties of the Anglo-Saxon church, which Henry II. and his predecessors had sworn to maintain.

Although some of the Articles of these Constitutions pertained to temporary occasions and feudal customs, yet the whole body of them involves principles of general and lasting importance.

Before ending this paper, I will give a short summary of these Constitutions, with the view of aiding the recollection of their contents.

1. Any dispute about the patronage or presentation of ecclesiastical benefices between clergy and laity, or among the clergy or the laity, to be settled in the King's Courts.
2. Benefices not to be alienated to religious corporations without the King's consent.
3. The clergy rendered amenable to the King's Courts for all offences against the laws of the realm. The Clerical Courts not to protect clerks convicted by the King's Courts.
4. Clergy not to go out of the kingdom without the King's consent, nor when abroad to do anything against the King's interest.
5. Excommunicated persons not to be sworn by the Ecclesiastical Courts to remain within the limits of their jurisdiction.
6. A kind of trial by jury to be used in the Ecclesiastical Court, when laymen are accused; and if poweful

laymen are called into the Ecclesiastical Courts, and none dare come forward to accuse them, the Sheriff on the Bishop's requisition is to summon a jury to try them in the Bishop's Court.

7. Tenants in capite of the Crown, and officers of the King, not to be excommunicated without the King's sanction previously obtained.

8. No appeals to Rome without the King's consent, and the King's Court to be the last appeal.

9. Questions whether a tenement be a lay fee or a church fee to be decided in the King's Court.

10. Persons belonging to a city, castle, or borough of the King's demesne, not to be excommunicated till the King's Chief Justice of the district has approved of the proceeding.

11. Higher ecclesiastics, as holding of the King in barony are to perform the services of barony, and in particular assist at trials in the King's Court, except in cases where life or limb would be forfeited by the sentence.

12. The King to enjoy the revenues of vacant bishoprics and abbeys. Election to be made to them in his presence and with his consent, and fealty and homage to be sworn to the King by the persons elected before consecration.

13. Violations of the rights or property of the Church, committed by nobles or peers, to be remedied in the King's Court, not in the Spiritual Courts. Any infringement of the King's rights to be punished in the Ecclesiastical Courts.

14. Churches or churchyards not to afford shelter to the forfeited goods of offenders.

15. All pleas of debts, whether incurred or not under oath of payment within a certain time, to be brought before the King's Court (not the Ecclesiastical).

16. The sons of villains or yeomen not to be ordained without the assent of their particular lords.

The subsequent fate of these celebrated Constitutions deserves notice. By the death of Becket and the general indignation which followed that outrage, the King found himself deterred from putting them fully into force. He solemnly revoked them at Avranches, in Normandy. On receiving absolution from the Pope in 1172, Henry promised to abolish all customs and laws hostile to the clergy, which had been made since the beginning of his reign, including, of course, the Constitutions of Clarendon. They remained accordingly little better than a dead letter, and in 1172 at a Council at Northampton, the repeal, or rather modification of them, was effected. On this occasion it was agreed (1) that the clergy should not be tried in temporal courts; (2) that no bishopric or abbey should remain more than a year in the King's hands, except it were otherwise impossible.

These Constitutions are further regarded as having been virtually given up by the King on the occasion of the appointment of Becket's successor, Richard Prior, of Dover, who on his election swore fealty to the King, "saving his order." All this took place in a chapel in the Palace of Westminster, with the consent of the King's justiciary. The King, indeed, who was then absent, refused his consent to this transaction; but the Pope confirmed the new Archbishop, and the King gave way. He thus appears to have virtually abandoned the Constitutions.

However, they more or less prevailed in after times, especially in the appointment of Bishops, which at least from the end of the thirteenth century was principally in the hands of the King, and almost entirely so after the passing of the last Acts of Premunire and Provisors in 1372, during the reign of Richard II.

MAGNA CHARTA, AND FORMER CHARTERS.

The term Charter was usually given in those days to a public document, and in particular to a document containing concessions of liberties and privileges from a feudal chief to his dependants. Hence, the great public document now to be considered by us obtained the name of Magna Charta, which is to be considered the first effectual guarantee given by the Crown respecting the rights and liberties of the people of the country.

It was not the first instrument of the kind that had been drawn up in favour of the subject; but the former charters had been of little effect. The inefficiency of them rendered Magna Charta necessary.

Before entering into a consideration of the Great Charter, I will briefly advert to the former guarantees of the same or of a similar kind that had already been granted. You will recollect the remarks which I made upon the oaths taken at his coronation by the Conqueror, and by which he was pledged to maintain the ancient constitution; oaths identical with those which had been taken by the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, and which, had they been kept by the Conqueror and his successors (for it is to be presumed that each of them at his coronation swore to the same effect) would have efficiently secured the rights of the subject.

But, besides these coronation oaths, several charters were granted by different kings in turns, which, if they had been observed, would have satisfied the just demands of all classes of the Anglo-Norman nation. I have adverted to the compilation of Anglo-Saxon laws, which was made by the order of the Conqueror in 1070, and which, having been ratified by him in a Great Council, may be considered as the first charter granted by the Norman kings.

Again, Henry I., soon after his coronation, granted a charter promising a redress of abuses, and expressly restoring the laws of Edward the Confessor with those emendations which William I. had made in them by the advice of his Barons. Among the abuses he mentions are "unreasonable reliefs, wardships, and other feudal burthens," charges which you will recollect were enumerated in a foregoing paper on the feudal system. The engagements of this charter were ill kept; but it is of importance historically, as having been made by the barons of 1215 the model of the charter which they determined to obtain from John. Their demands in brief were that those rights and liberties should be conceded to the church and kingdom which were set down in the charter of Henry I., and in the laws of Edward the Confessor. It has been observed by Lord Lyttleton, in his admirable history of Henry II., which is well worthy of the student's perusal, especially so far as it treats of the early constitution, that the charter of Henry I. was in some respects more advantageous to liberty than Magna Charta itself.

Two charters were granted by Stephen, one to the barons, the other to the clergy. They confirm the charter of Henry I., and grant in fuller terms the laws of Edward the Confessor.

Henry II. in a charter repeats the confirmation of his grandfather Henry I.'s charter.

Notwithstanding these solemn guarantees of the rights and liberties of all classes of the kingdom, the exactions and oppressions, of which complaint was made, were continued at intervals, and in a greater or less degree, until, under the reign of John, they rose to a height that could not be endured, and Magna Charta was the consequence.

Two points may here be noticed in reference to the resistance which was made to King John, and to the concessions which were obtained from him on the present occasion. One of these points is the enormous power of the Crown, which could exercise oppression not only upon the depressed Anglo-Saxon population, but also upon the proud and powerful Anglo-Norman nobles. It is thought with much probability that the possession of large continental territories enabled the kings of England the more easily to set at defiance the just wishes of their subjects in this country; and it was when those possessions were in chief measure lost, and at the same time when the throne was occupied by a king of a comparatively weak character, as hateful and contemptible as it was weak, that an effectual opposition could be raised by the oppressed nation.

The next point which I would notice is the degree of union which appears to have taken place between the two races of the conquerors and the conquered, inasmuch as we find both of them joined in their demands upon the King. This indicates that the process of fusion between the two races had already made considerable advance. The power of the Crown oppressing the two races alike, had at least the good effects of promoting their ultimate union.

Such were the circumstances under which Magna Charta was demanded and obtained. The date of the signing of it was June 15, 1215, the place, Runnymede, a meadow in the Thames, near Windsor, at which it is recorded that conferences between the Anglo-Saxon kings and their nobles had often been held before. The persons by whose advice the Charter professes to have been granted, are the Archbishops of Canterbury and

Dublin, and seven other Bishops, the Pope's Legate (the celebrated Pandulph), Emeric, Master of the Temple, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, Warrenne, and Arundel, Herbert de Burgh, Alan de Galloway, Seneschal of Poitou, and "others of our liegemen." Of all these, the prime movers in the measure were Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Fitzwalter, who commanded the Baron's army, William, Earl of Pembroke, and William Longspear, Earl of Salisbury, a son of the Fair Rosamond and Henry II., names ever-memorable in the history of our free constitution.

The charter itself has been divided into sixty-three heads, according to the various subjects which it embraces. It will be unnecessary to give here the whole document, which is a long one, and which, in some points, is obscure, and to us not very important. It will be sufficient to give some general account of its contents.

These may be arranged under three heads. 1. The rights of the clergy; 2. The rights of the Barons or fief-holders; 3. The rights of the people at large.

I. With regard to the clergy, the charter makes a general recognition of their privileges and rights in the words, "Ecclesia Anglicana sit libera et habeat jura sua et facultates illæsas. Libertatem electionum quæ maxima et magis necessaria videtur ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, concessimus, et hâc chartâ nostrâ præsenti confirmavimus." The liberty of election to which the charter refers was that of the election of Bishops, in which the kings were apt to interfere, as in the memorable case of the contest between John, the chapter of Canterbury, and the Pope, on the occasion of the appointment of Stephen Langton, who became one of the chief originators of Magna Charta. Liberty of election in these cases had been conceded in a former charter of John's, granted exclusively to the clergy, to which allusion is here made.

II. The charter enumerates and confirms the rights of the Barons. It redresses various feudal grievances as to reliefs and wardships. It provides that no escuage or any extraordinary aid shall be imposed without the consent of the Great Council, and it determines the occasions and modes of the convocation of that assembly.

III. The rights of the Commons, that is, the freemen, are attended to in the following provisions:—"Nullus liber homo capiatur vel imprisonatur aut dissasiatur aut utlagetur aut aliquo mudo destruatur nec super eum ibimus nec super eum mittemus nisi per judicium parium suorum vel per legem terræ."

Such is the most memorable of all the clauses of Magna Charta touching the rights of the Commons. A few more shall be given on this head, though not in the original Latin. "Justice shall not be sold, refused, or delayed to anyone." The franchises of London and other towns are secured. The Court of Common Pleas to be fixed at Westminster, instead of following as hitherto the King's person, to the great inconvenience of suitors. Amelioration of Forest-law tyranny is granted. The arbitrary tallage, or taxing of towns is restricted and limited, and thus a considerable step was made towards securing the rights of the subject with regard to his *property*. The provision next to be mentioned for the administration of justice is curious, as suggesting the principle of representation which has now been so largely applied in our constitution. "We, or in our absence from the kingdom, our justiciary, shall send four times a year into each county two judges, who, with four knights chosen by each county, shall hold the assizes at the time and place appointed in the said county." The regular practice of sending the judges on circuit throughout England had been instituted by Henry II. in the statutes called "Assizes of Northampton," A.D. 1176, when England was divided into six circuits, which have remained with little alteration to the present day.

The last provision which I shall mention is worthy of notice, as including some provision for the welfare of the humbler class, or villains. "No freeman, merchant, or *villain* shall be unreasonably fined for a small offence; the first shall not be deprived of his tenement, the second of his merchandise, the third of his implements of husbandry."

Such are the most remarkable provisions of Magna Charta, which has proved a broad and solid foundation of the fabric of our constitution, and an effectual security for the privileges of the subject; and which formed a standard to which an appeal in all ages could be made, whenever that constitution and those privileges were placed in jeopardy. Although previous concessions had been made by the Crown, this alone has proved effectual in its operation. One special instance of its effectiveness shall be mentioned before I conclude this paper. The ancient writ of Habeas Corpus has been always regarded as one of the chief securities of the subject against illegal imprisonment. This writ, which is issued by one of the King's Courts, requires that an imprisoned person shall be brought before that Court, in order that it may be ascertained whether he has been imprisoned for a legal reason; so that if it be proved that his imprisonment is illegal, he may be immediately discharged by order of the Court. And it has always been the right of the subject imprisoned to sue out such writ from one of the King's Courts. Now this important security against oppression is generally and with evident reason ascribed to the operation of the clause in Magna Charta, wherein provision is made that none shall be imprisoned except through the legal judgment of his peers, and by the law of the land. Some such method as that of this writ ascertaining the cause of a man's imprisonment, would be obviously necessary to make the provision itself operative. It may be added that Magna Charta was confirmed by many of the succeeding Kings of England, and by some kings more than once, for these fresh confirmations were considered to be additional securities for its observance.

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GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE TOWNS IN PLANTAGENET DAYS.

The attention and the memory will be aided in the study of any particular period in our history, or in any national history, by having a constant regard to some important tendency or progress which may be found to run through that period. In the annals of the Plantagenet Kings, the growing importance of the Commons is an instance of the kind of tendency or progress of which I speak. I remember the significant statement of one who had studied this period with advantage. In going through it he complained of the little interest which he felt in it, and of the difficulty which he found in remembering it. "Read it," said an experienced friend, "with an eye to the rise of the Commons." He followed the advice, and from that time, as he told me, this portion of our history was invested with a new and real interest, so that he was able to pursue the study of it with satisfaction. With this hint, I will proceed to the consideration of an important part of the subject—the growing importance of the towns in Plantagenet days.

It has been truly observed that during the oppressive reigns of the Norman and early Plantagenet Kings, the germs of our national liberties lay in the privileges of the corporate towns—that is, the cities and boroughs. These corporate towns had existed in considerable numbers in Anglo-Saxon times, and had large powers of self-government, electing by the common voice of all their free inhabitants, being householders, their own magistrates (of whom the borough-reeve, or port-reeve, as he is sometimes called, the eolderman, and the head-borough were the principal) and managing their own affairs. Indeed, so nearly were the towns independent, that England in those days has been compared rather to a federation under a common head than to a modern kingdom.

After the Norman Conquest these towns were greatly shorn of their wonted privileges and importance, and, in many cases lost them almost, if not quite. They were each incorporated into the demesne of some feudal superior, king or other, were liable to be taxed (tallaged) by him almost at discretion, and were bound to find a certain number of their body to serve in the wars with him. But their inhabitants carefully cherished the remembrance of their ancient liberties, and constantly clamoured for their recovery in the form of words usually employed by the oppressed Anglo-Saxon Commons in demanding back their rights—viz., a demand for the restoration of "laws of Edward the Confessor." Nor were they slow to avail themselves of various opportunities when presented to them for recovering their free institutions, opportunities which their power of combination, their growing wealth, and their superior intelligence over the rest of the Commons enabled them to turn to account.

The disputes arising from an unsettled method of succeeding to the Crown, and from the discontent of the Barons with the feudal exactions of the Sovereign, enabled the inhabitants of the corporate towns to obtain from *both* parties of their Norman oppressors—the King and his party, and the party of the opposing Barons—successive concessions of ancient rights. Thus the kings in their oaths and charters promised the restoration of their rights, and, though the promises were insufficiently kept, they were a continual acknowledgment of those rights, which conduced to their ultimate recovery; while the Barons on more than one occasion, of which Magna Charta was one, taking the towns into alliance with themselves against the Crown, assisted them in obtaining the recognition, and at least the partial enjoyment, of their privileges. Further, they often obtained from the necessities, or the cupidity, of their feudal superiors, whether the Kings or the Barons, concessions of right of which they had been deprived through the effects of the Norman Conquest. Their increasing wealth enabled them frequently to purchase from their oppressors the enjoyment of the ancient municipal franchises. And when their feudal superiors wanted money for domestic or foreign wars, including in the latter the Crusades, they were in the habit of conceding privileges in return for money raised by the inhabitants of their towns.

Having thus regained a considerable degree of independence and power of self-government, the towns became an important element in the political constitution. Of their importance in this respect, we have a proof in the facts that the Barons were aided by the Mayor of London in compelling John to sign Magna Charta, and that a special provision for the security of municipal rights and privileges was by his influence introduced into the charter. The political influence of the towns was on a succeeding occasion at once recognized and immensely increased by the act of Simon de Montfort and his partizans during the war against Henry III., in issuing writs in the name of that King, then a prisoner after the battle of Lewes (1265), by which representatives from all the cities and towns were summoned for the first time to Parliament; and we thus trace the origin of our House of Commons. The representatives of the borough towns are first found sitting as a separate house in the time of Edward I., at the celebrated Parliament of Acton Burnel (1283). Within forty-four years after this date they were joined by the Knights of the Shires, military tenants of the Crown elected by the Shires, and with them formed one House, the House of Commons.

ORIGIN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the paper on the rise of the towns, I have slightly touched upon the close connection between their progress in political importance, and the origin of the Commons House of Parliament. I propose now to enter further into the latter subject, and to trace in this and the two next papers the origin of that House, and the successive steps by which it acquired its ultimate importance. It is not very clear who composed the Witenagemote or assembly of the Witan, or wise men, the old Anglo-Saxon Parliament. The higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, the Eoldermen and King's Thanes of course entered into its composition. Whether there was any representation of the Commons, or, as they were called, the "ceorls," is much disputed; but as it appears that some of the Magistrates of borough towns sat in the Witenagemote, and as it is known that these Magistrates were usually elected by the common voice of the free inhabitant householders of those towns, it would seem that a virtual representation of the Commons was thus included in the Witenagemote.

Under the Norman sway it seems that the Great Council or Parliament was entirely composed of persons who held directly of the Crown, "tenants in capite" as they were called. All the Bishops, certain of the Abbots and Priors, the Earls, and a number of the Barons, and Knights holding immediately under the Crown, were summoned individually by Royal writ to attend this assembly. It is not probable that all the Knights holding directly under the Crown were summoned, if we consider how great a number they must have formed, and the expense which would be involved in their attendance at the Great Council which was held sometimes thrice a year. It appears, however, that after a time, the Knights were not summoned individually by Royal writ, but that a writ was issued to the Sheriff of each Shire, directing him to cause the freeholders of the Shire (that is, the Knights holding under the Crown, and some of the tenants under the tenants in capite) to elect two of the Knights residing in the Shire to appear in Parliament.

The principle of legislation by representation is one of which there are few or no traces in the ancient forms of Government; and it is of so much importance and is so largely applied in our own form of Government, that it will be interesting and instructive to attempt to trace out its origin in this country. Some semblance of the representation of counties appears so far back as the Conqueror's reign. He, when he resolved to ratify the Anglo-Saxon laws, ordered "twelve noble and sage men" to be chosen in each county, to ascertain and determine what those laws were. The most ancient writ in existence summoning the representatives of Knights of Counties is dated 1213 in the time of King John. In this writ it is ordered that four discreet Knights of each County should be sent by the Sheriff to Oxford without arms, "to treat with the King concerning the affairs of the country." This surely is a regular summons to Parliament. So, for the due administration of justice, it was one of the demands of the Barons at Runnymede, that "two Judges should hold their circuits four times a year, to hold their assizes *together with four Knights of the Shire chosen by the Shire.*"

In Magna Charta also, there is a provision according to which twelve Knights were to be elected in the Court of each Shire to enquire into "the evil customs of Sheriffs of forests and foresters, of warrens and warreners," in other words, into the grievances attending the forest laws. The same method of representation was in one or two recorded instances followed about this time in regard to the collection of taxes. In the year 1220, writs were issued to the Sheriff making him collector of the taxes of his county, in conjunction with two Knights to be chosen in the County Court. Again, in 1223, Henry III. ordered every Sheriff to enquire by means of "twelve lawful and discreet Knights what were the rights and liberties of the Crown in his Shire on the day in which the war began between King John and the Barons."

The same King appointed *four Knights in each Shire* to enquire into the excesses, transgressions, and injuries committed by Judges, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other persons, and to make a report to him in Council on a certain day.

A more decided approach was made to our present system of representation in 1254, when the King (Henry III.) issued writs ordering two lawful and discreet Knights to be chosen by the men of every county "to assemble at Westminster and determine with the Knights of other counties what aid they should give their Sovereign in his present necessity," the war in Gascony. Here then we clearly have Knights representatives of Shires, summoned to vote money, which was the great business of Parliament in those days.

In 1262, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, summoned a kind of Parliament at St. Albans, to which each county was ordered to send three Knights, "to treat of the common concerns of the kingdom."

Such are some of the principal precedents for the memorable summoning of Parliament by Simon de Montfort in 1265, from which the origin of our House of Commons is more distinctly to be traced.

It may here be observed that, when on these former occasions Knights were summoned as representatives, they were paid the same wages by their constituents as the Knights of Shires afterwards received when they regularly attended as Members of Parliament; whence it would appear that after 1265, they were considered to be acting in the same capacity as that in which they had acted on former occasions of their election and assembling under Royal writ. We have in a former paper seen the effect of Simon de Montfort's Act in 1265, when the deputies of cities and boroughs were summoned.

After the citizens and burgesses had thus been summoned by Simon de Montfort's instrumentality, they did not regularly attend Parliament for some years, and came only when they were required to vote money. It was not until the latter part of the reign of Edward I. that they attended as a necessary and constituent part of Parliament. It has not been found possible to decide exactly the question as to when the Knights of Shires sat in one house together with the more plebeian representatives of the cities and boroughs. The Knights had originally sat as a sort of lesser nobility together with the

Barons, till they were incorporated with the citizens and burgesses in Parliament. This fusion of Knights of Shires with the representatives of the towns is thought to appear in the records of some of the Parliaments of Edward II., but it evidently occurs in the first year of Edward III. It was doubtless (as has been observed by some writers) this admixture of the Knights of Shires with the citizens and burgesses (who being men of trade, were regarded in those days as belonging to a very inferior class of society) that rendered the Commons in Parliament so courageous and spirited a body as they quickly began to show themselves. What at the same time rendered the House of Commons a full representation of the middle class, and preserved it true to its democratic origin and instincts, was the circumstance that, through a remarkable oversight of the aristocratic authors of that House, the representatives of cities and boroughs were made to greatly outnumber the Knights of the Shires; for, while each Shire returned generally but two Knights, each borough in every Shire was directed to return two burgesses also. There were, in fact, about 200 citizens and burgesses to 74 Knights of Shires.

Had the founders of our House of Commons anticipated the important part which that body would play in the Government of England, it is not likely that they would have given to the cities and boroughs this preponderance in the representation. The effect of this oversight, however, was not discovered till the citizens and burgesses had become too important and too powerful a class of the community to be curtailed of an advantage which had once fallen into their hands; and though frequent attempts were afterwards made to omit several of the boroughs in the summons to Parliament with the view of diminishing the preponderance of the burgess element, those attempts were generally observed and checked by the House of Commons. I propose in my next paper to trace the steps by which the House of Commons, thus established and thus composed, rose to the great importance which it afterwards attained in the legislation and government of England.

By keeping in view this steady forward movement of the House of Commons, while we are reading the history of the Plantagenet Kings, a significance and interest will be given to a narrative of facts, which might otherwise often appear somewhat tedious and uninstructive.

RISE OF THE POWER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House of Commons in the first instance, was summoned merely as an assembly for voting supplies to the Crown. While the Barons felt themselves aggrieved by the feudal exactions of the Crown, the towns, the most important of which were in the *King's immediate demesnes,* had still greater reasons for complaint in the frequent and arbitrary impositions of "tallage," which the King inflicted on them. These exactions and impositions on either party, were carried to an intolerable height by the needy rapacity of Henry III., who, through the improvident prodigality with which he lavished his means, was constantly in want of money, especially for the futile wars waged by him for the recovery and maintenance of his possessions in the South of France. Having thus a common interest, the Barons and the towns were disposed to make common cause against the Crown; and the Barons called in the aid of the towns in resisting the encroachments of the Crown. The Barons, designing to strengthen their alliance with the towns, summoned the representatives of the cities and boroughs to Parliament, where they should determine the amount of contributions which should be paid by their constituents to the Crown, and settle the several proportions of that amount which should be levied from each of the towns respectively.

The question of grievances would be much mixed up with that of contribution, for a constant cause of grievance in those times of disorder and of undetermined prerogative, was given by the King and his officers, in raising money by illegal methods. Hence, when they had begun to meet, the Commons were much employed in discussing grievances and making representations of them to the Sovereign. Having now a hold upon the King's purse—a hold which they constantly were strengthening —they were enabled more or less to obtain redress of the grievances of which they complained.

These grievances were stated in the form of petitions, which, if they received the King's assent, were regarded as having the force of law.

As the power of the Commons increased, and as the

Barons occasionally called them in to concur in measures against the Crown, the petitions of the Commons began to embrace other matters besides those of mere financial import.

At length, they asserted with success, a claim that their concurrence should be necessary in every legislative measure. This was the position which, by degrees, they reached, and upon which they had firmly established themselves by the end of Henry VI.'s reign—that is, in about two hundred years from their rise.

I propose now to give a series of facts illustrating this gradual elevation of the Commons to a co-ordinate and independent share in Parliamentary legislation. In the reign of Edward I., they, with the aid of the Barons, obtained the celebrated and important statute, "De Tallagio non Concedendo," by which the constitutional maxim was settled for all subsequent ages, that the subject shall only be taxed by his own consent.*

Having at first simply made a representation of their grievances when they gave a supply, they, in the second year of Edward II., annexed the redress of a grievance as the condition of granting a supply. They granted the twenty-fifth penny of their goods, upon this condition, that the King should take advice, and grant redress upon certain articles, wherein they are aggrieved. The assent of the Commons to the dethronement of Edward II., was pretended, and their authority in the matter was recognized, by the prevailing faction of the Lords. In Edward III.'s reign, the Commons were for the first time distinctly consulted by the King in matters of State and policy.

Further, they induced that King to pass an Act declaring the illegality of all future ordinances such as that which he had lately been making with the concurrence of the Lords, and without the assent of the Commons, by which the landowners were required to furnish men and horses, and the towns to furnish money, for the purposes of war. At the end of this reign, they impeached the King's Ministers, one of whom, Lord Latimer, was sacrificed to their resentment.

In Richard II.'s time, the Commons required the removal and impeachment of an obnoxious and most powerful minister, the Earl of Suffolk, who was accordingly removed and impeached.

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* 1309. See Hallam, vol. ii. page 192.

In this reign, three points which had been disputed under Edward III., were more nearly settled in their own favour by the Commons: (1.) The necessity of their consent to the making of laws; (2) the necessity of their consent to the levying of money; (3) their right to the inspection of the administration of the kingdom. Although they suffered some checks to their pretensions in the course of this weak but wilful monarch's reign, yet it is evident that upon the whole, they gained much ground in it. In the deposition of that King, the Commons played a more authoritative and decorous part than they had taken in the tumultuous dethronement of Edward II.

In the reign of Henry IV., a marked elevation is to be observed in the tone which the Commons took in addressing the Crown; and that King, in order to cover the defects of his title and strengthen himself upon the throne, was ready to gratify their demands. They began in his reign to insist upon being consulted about other matters than taxation and supply: they asserted their right to freedom from arrest, and to liberty of speech. The following answer of the King illustrates this point. It occurred in the first year of his reign. He says, "That the Commons as they had acknowledged, were only petitioners and demandants, and that the King and the Lords alone had always been, and would be, of right judges of Parliament, but that it was the King's will to have the advice and assent of the Commons in the enactment of statutes, and in the making of grants, subsidies, and such things for the common profit of the realm." They required (and this was a great step) promises to be given them of the redress of grievances, *before* they would grant supply; insisted on inspecting the accounts of the manner in which the money granted by them for particular purposes, had been expended; and obtained the expulsion from the kingdom of certain foreign courtiers, although the King averred in his reply, that he knew of no charge against them.

During the reign of Henry V., the Commons obtained from the king a confirmation of their claims, that no statute should be valid unless it had been enacted with their consent. This king went so far in his concessions to them as to submit to their inspection and approval the treaty which he had made with the Emperor Sigismund, his ally in the war against France.

In the eighth year of the reign of Henry VI., the Commons gained this great and final point—that Acts of Parliament should be made as they now are: that is, that bills should come before their House drawn up in the form in which they were intended to be passed; and that any amendments which should be made by the Lords in bills which had passed the Commons, should be first submitted for their approval before those bills were presented to the King. Previously the practice in making laws was that the Commons should present a petition, and that when it had passed the Lords (sometimes, if the matter of it did not affect the Lords, it did not come before their House), the petition, together with the answer which the King gave to it, was laid before the judges, who, after the session, constructed a statute out of the petition and the answer. This practice had sometimes led to the interpolation of fresh matter, or the omission or modification of points contained in the petition or answer. But, by the method now introduced, the authority of the Commons, as joint legislators, was fully recognized, and the attainment of their objects in matters of legislation was the better secured.

The King could accept or reject the bill, but no alteration could be made in its enactments without the consent of both Lords and Commons. It may be well to give a few instances *per contra*, showing the subordinate position which up to this period the Commons, notwithstanding the growth of their importance and the respect with which they were treated upon occasions by the King and by the Lords, still occupied in the State. At first, in such legislative functions as they exercised, they were merely petitioners, sometimes to the King and sometimes to the Lords.

Throughout the reign of Edward I. the assent of the Commons is not once expressed in any enacting clause of an Act of Parliament; nor in the reigns ensuing till the 9th of Edward III.; nor in any of the enacting clauses of the 16th of Richard II.; nay, even in Henry VI.'s reign down to the eighth year of it, their assent is not expressed. Again, in the reign of Edward III. laws were declared to be made by the King at the *request* of the Commons, and by the *assent* of the Lords. But even after this there was no invariable regularity in the mode of making laws, and occasions occurred in which the King and the Lords made laws, as they had done before Edward III.'s time, without the intervention of the Commons.

It appears that, provided an Act affected not the immediate interests of the Commons, they suffered it to be passed, or could not prevent it from being passed, without their consent; but in matters affecting their immediate interests, they protested, and usually with success, against anything being passed without their concurrence.

However, the shoots of constitutional liberty, in the powers and privileges of the Commons, which had already been put forth, but had been occasionally checked, flourished vigorously during the reigns of the three kings of the house of Lancaster,* and have perpetuated themselves through the subsequent ages of English history.

CAUSES OF RISE OF THE POWER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

When the House of Commons had been regularly constituted as a part of the national polity, it was, and remained for a considerable period, a very subordinate part of it. (By the way, in Acts of Parliament, and other public documents, no mention is ever made, even to this day, of Houses of Lords and Commons, or Houses of Parliament. The regular phraseology is, to take as a specimen the way in which an Act always begins, as thus: "Whereas" such and such is the case, "be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the *Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled*, and by the authority of the same," etc. No notice, we see, is taken of the different *Houses*, it is "the Lords, etc., in Parliament assembled." Often, too, Parliament is spoken of in constitutional language as one body or assembly.) Returning, however, to the point, the Commons for a long time played a very insignificant part in legislation, and in this respect were little more than humble appendages to the powerful assembly of the Barons. All they did at first was to vote money, and particularly to assess the tallages to be paid by the towns, and, after they had been joined in the House with the knights, the *aids and subsidies* (as the other taxes were called) to be paid by freeholders of counties. But having the power of the *purse*, using it skilfully, and turning to good account the necessities and exigencies of the kings, especially when they wanted money for foreign wars, the Commons gradually became an important element in the State. They used, as I have already mentioned, to proceed by *petition* to the King in matters affecting their own interests and rights, and the King would grant them if he approved of them, and often when he was anxious to conciliate their good will. Then, finding sometimes that when they had voted money, they were dismissed from attendance or had their petitions neglected, they followed the prudent plan of first discussing "grievances" and petitioning that they should be redressed, before they would vote him supplies. Sometimes it came openly to a regular bargain—so much privilege or power to the Commons for so much money granted to the King. Thus our liberties were obtained more by *buying* them than by fighting for them. The *power of the purse*, then, was the first and principal means by which the Commons became important in the State. There *was a second principal* way in which this result was brought about.

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* Hallam, vol. ii., page 215.

In rebellion against the King (as in the case of Edward II. and Richard II.) the faction opposed to the King was desirous of strengthening itself by the support of the Commons, and by calling in their aid and asking their approval of the policy pursued, they, of course, greatly increased the importance and authority of the Commons.

Also, in the Wars of the Roses, it was a grand point for either side of the contending Barons to have the Commons with them.

The *third* cause of the ultimate rise of the Commons was the very great impoverishment and destruction of the feudal nobility in the Wars of the Roses, which thus left a clear stage for the Commons. The Tudor kings finding the nobility thus depressed, made it their great policy to keep them down, and even to diminish their remaining greatness; and though these sovereigns took to themselves a great part of the power which the Lords had lost, they gave some of it to the Commons, whom they studiously raised as a means of keeping down the Lords.

These sovereigns paid far more deference to the House of Commons than to the House of Lords, which they evidently held in very little account, and turned into a mere instrument of their will. It was virtually by the aid of the *Commons* that the Tudor King Henry VIII., passed the great measures of the Reformation. And, as the Commons had the power of the purse, the Tudor sovereigns, whose independent revenue was not large, felt themselves the more obliged to treat them with respect. By the time that the vigorous hand of the Tudors was removed, the Commons had become so powerful that they were able shortly to contest the King's authority, and even to overthrow the other two powers in the State, and become, for a time, the rulers of England. Hence, the four great causes of the rise of the Commons were :—

First. *The power of the purse*.

Second. *Their interposition in political contentions.*

Third. *The great diminution and impoverishment of the feudal nobility in the Wars of the Roses, by death in the field or on the scaffold, and by the attainder of their estates as either party gained the day.*

Fourth. *The policy of the Tudor sovereigns.*

We might also add the very great increase of wealth, and consequently of importance, which the middle classes, represented by the Commons in Parliament, obtained from the time of Edward I. downwards by their activity in foreign trade, and by their thrift and industry. During that time England became one of the chief commercial countries of Europe, the kings, especially Edward III., very much encouraging trade, and numerous Acts being passed for its furtherance.

We may also notice, as one more cause of the rise of the Commons, the long minority of Henry VI., during which time, as the royal power was very much in abeyance, the authority of the Commons in the legislation and in the general control of public affairs would the more prevail.

Even when so weak a king was old enough to govern, they would be kept in comparatively little check by the crown. Hence we find that it is in his *single reign* that *they made their most signal advance* in authority and consideration.

STATUTE DE TALLAGIO NON CONCEDENDO.

This will be the proper place for giving some account of the passing of that important enactment in defence of the property of the subject, which goes by the above-cited name.

To supply his necessities in making war with France for the recovery of Guienne, Edward I. had oppressed his subjects with various and heavy taxes, imposing of his own authority aids upon the freeholders, tallages on the towns, and duties, called tolls, on the merchants, especially for wool and hides, the great articles of export from this sheep-growing, and not then manufacturing, or, to any great extent, mining country. Further, the King ordered the Sheriffs to collect by assessment on the landholders of their respective counties for the maintenance of his army in Guienne a quantity of cattle and wheat. He had already extorted a large sum of money from the clergy. We thus may see that there was no class in the country (excepting the villains) that escaped the exactions of this monarch; a fact which sufficiently accounts for the successful resistance which, on this occasion, was offered, even to a monarch so able, resolute, and powerful as was Edward I. The patience of the nation was at last exhausted, and two powerful feudal magnates, Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the Constable, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the Marshal, the chiefs, in fact of the feudal array, headed the general discontent.

The King was about to sail on his warlike expedition, and summoned the two Earls to take their part in it. They both refused, and it was on this occasion that the memorable and angry colloquy took place between the King and the Earl of Norfolk. "By the everlasting God, sir Earl, you shall go or hang." "By the everlasting God, sir King, I will neither go nor hang." The

King, however, set sail for Flanders; but in his absence the two Earls, with other Barons, proceeded to the Exchequer, and in their own names and in that of the Baronage of England, forbade the Treasurer and the Judges to levy the last eighth which had been ordered. The King felt himself obliged to submit to this act of opposition, and a Parliament was called in his name, wherein was passed the celebrated statute, "De Tallagio non Concedendo," to which he gave his consent by deputy. On his return to England, the wily monarch struggled hard to avoid ratifying it in person, but, as the aspect of affairs had now become threatening to his crown, he was compelled to give the required sanction.

In reference to the passing of this statute, the historian Lingard says with truth, "This was the most important victory which had hitherto been gained over the Crown; by investing the Parliament with the sole right of raising supplies, it armed them with the power of checking the extravagance and controlling the despotism of the King."

The following is the chief substance of the statute:—

No tallage or aid shall be henceforth levied by us or our heirs without the goodwill and common consent of the Archbishops, Bishops, and other prelates, the Earls, Barons, Knights, Burgesses, and other *freemen* in our realm. No officer of us or our heirs shall take corn, wool, hides, or other goods of any person whatsoever, without the goodwill and assent of the owners of such goods. Nothing henceforth shall be taken on the sacks of wool, under the name or pretence of the evil toll; for the duty on exported wool which the King had raised had come to be generally called the "evil toll," or "maltolte." These concessions, by which the Crown relinquished the claim of levying taxes without the consent of the nation, had indeed been already made in Magna Charta. But on the confirmation of the charters by Henry III. in his minority, the clauses containing these concessions had been left out by agreement for further consideration when the King should be of full age.

The reason why at this first confirmation of the charters, the clause limiting the King's power of taxation, was left out, is thought to have been as follows: That the Barons, in aiding to wrest this power from the Crown, had found that they had been placing themselves in a difficulty with regard to their own exaction of tallage from towns in their demesnes. Thus Henry III., and, after him, Edward I., being naturally unwilling to submit their power to limitation, had contrived to keep in abeyance these clauses relating to taxation till the time of which I am speaking. Now, however, we see that Edward I. fully and fairly conceded them.

It may be mentioned here, that there is a question (not of much importance) among historians, whether these articles above mentioned, were simply added to Magna Charta, which on this occasion was solemnly confirmed by Edward I., or whether they then formed a separate Statute. It is enough for us to know that they are entered on the Statute Book as a separate statute, the "Statutum de Tallagio non Concedendo." It is generally considered that, as Magna Charta was the great guarantee of *personal freedom*, this Statute is the great safeguard of the property of the subject, as distinctly enunciating what is termed the great constitutional principle of self-taxation.

THE CHAMPIONS OF ENGLISH LIBERTY.

My dear ———

You asked me a short time ago to answer you an historical question:—

"Who were the men to whose actions we are chiefly indebted for the liberties of England?"

There *were* undoubtedly certain prominent men at different times, who aided powerfully in achieving our constitutional liberties; but for the most part, these liberties were obtained and secured gradually, and by the Commons in Parliament taking advantage of the necessities of the kings, to grant supplies conditionally on the concession of some privilege. Hallam says on this point, "It is common to assert that the liberties of England were bought with the blood of our forefathers. This is a very magnanimous boast, and in some degree it is consonant enough with truth. But it is far more generally accurate to say they were purchased with money." A great proportion of our best laws, including the confirmation * of Magna Charta itself by Henry III., were, in the most literal sense, obtained by a pecuniary bargain with the Crown.

In many Parliaments of Edward III. and Richard II., this sale of redress is chaffered for as distinctly and with as little apparent sense of disgrace, as the most legitimate business between two merchants would be transacted. But, though the liberties of this country were chiefly obtained piecemeal, and by the Commons acting as a body, rather than at any distinct era, or by any particular individual, there was, as I said, a few leading spirits at different times, who made themselves conspicuous in asserting public rights. These I will proceed to mention.

The first who may be said to have distinguished themselves in the cause of English liberty were the two great men who had a principal part in framing Magna Charta—viz., Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury and William, Earl of Pembroke. "These two men," says Hallam, may be considered as entitled beyond the rest to the glory of this monument, " the keystone of English liberty."

We must next mention the celebrated *Simon de Montfort,* Earl of Leicester, who led the Barons in their war against Henry III., defeated and took him prisoner at the battle of Lewes, and when he held the king a captive, issued writs (1265) in his name to the sheriffs of all the counties, directing them to return two knights for their county, and two citizens and burgesses for every city and borough within it. By this measure the representation of the Commons in Parliament was achieved, and the foundation of our free constitution was laid. The history of that war will show you that other measures also were taken to regulate the royal power and secure the due liberties of the subject. For all these measures we are chiefly indebted to Simon de Montfort, though there was another baron who took a prominent part on the same side—Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Simon de Montfort and his party were, indeed, afterwards defeated by the Royalist army at the battle of Evesham; yet the effects of their exertions for English liberty were, to a great extent, secured. The King did not dare to revoke any part of the Great Charter; and not long after the battle of Evesham, he adopted in a Parliament, held at Marlborough, some of the most valuable provisions of Simon de Montfort, "and enacted other good laws." Edward I. himself continued the policy which Simon de Montfort had initiated.

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* This confirmation appears on the Statute Book, while Magna Charta as granted by John, is not found there. It is called " Confirmatio Chartarum," as it comprises another Charta also, " Charta de Foresta," mitigating the severity of the Forest Laws, which were a signal piece of Norman tyranny.

The two next men in our history most worthy of note as champions of our liberties, were the Earl of Hereford, the Constable, and the Earl of Norfolk, the Marshal, in the reign of Edward I.

The King having in 1297, to the great discontent of the nation, committed some exactions on various classes of the realm for the maintenance of his war for the recovery of Guienne, these two Earls took part with the oppressed, and refused to accompany the King on his expeditions to France and Flanders.

It was on this occasion that the curt, but memorable, colloquy took place between the King and the Earl of Norfolk, which has been mentioned in the last paper. The other nobles, to a great extent, took part with these two Earls, and the King was left almost alone.

After he had departed for Flanders, the two Earls, with other leading nobles, prohibited the collection of certain taxes which the King had laid on without consent of Parliament, compelled him, though absent, to confirm the charters afresh by deputy; and, on the King's return to England, obliged him, in spite of all the resistance which he could offer, to confirm the charter again in person.

"It required," says Hallam, "an intrepid patriotism to contend with and finally control such a sovereign as Edward I., one of the most powerful, warlike, and skilful of our kings; and England has never produced any patriots to whom she owes more gratitude than Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk."

I do not think that for many ages after this time any very distinguished assertor of English liberty is to be found in our history, though a few minor instances of men defending this cause may occur.

Thus the Black Prince himself, in the last year of his life, actually headed the opposition of the Commons against the mis-government of his father, Edward III., then apparently in his dotage, and obtained redress of the grievances complained of. And in the reign of Henry VIII. we find the good and great Sir Thomas More, as Speaker of the House of Commons, withstanding Wolsey's imperious and exorbitant demands for a supply. For the next conspicuous champion of right and liberty, we must come down to a much later period of our history, the reign of Charles I. When that misguided king was attempting to govern without Parliament, and to raise his revenue without their consent, John Hampden (of Hampden in Bucks) was the only man to stand forth in opposition to the illegal levying of a tax called "ship money."

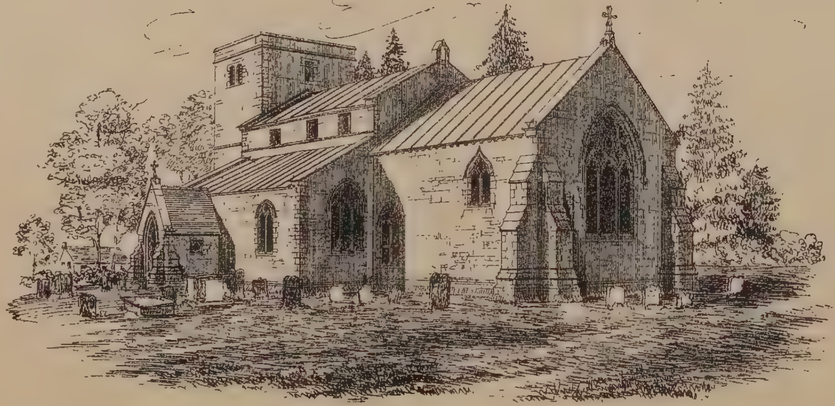
And though the judges, creatures of the court, condemned him for non-payment of the tax, his example tended much to encourage a spirit of resistance throughout the country, and thus greatly conduced to the restrictions subsequently placed on royal power.

There were some sincere and sound-minded patriots among the members of the Long Parliament (which met in 1641), though there were also many extreme and rancorous opponents of the King, whose violence ultimately proved most injurious to the cause of liberty and led to the temporary establishment of a military rule. Among the more moderate patriots, Hyde and the noble-minded Lord Falkland were the most worthy of note.

The next men deserving mention in this respect were some of those who brought over William III., and effected the Revolution of 1688, the era of modern constitutional liberty. The man of most mark amongst them was the prudent and sagacious Lord Somers, to whose instrumentality we are chiefly indebted for the Bill of Rights (1689), which may be considered as our second Magna Charta, I would advise you to read the Act of Parliament called by this name, observing that its provisions are severally directed against the recurrence of aggressions similar to those which James II. had committed against our constitutional rights. I might have mentioned as eminent, though temperate, opponents of illegal power, and consequently

CHURCH : OF : S^T JOHN : THE : BAPTIST

PRESTON BISSETT.



SOUTH - EAST · VIEW · AS · RESTORED

J. HABERSHON AND BROCK Archts
37 Bedford Place
Russell Sqre
W.C

Whiteman & Bass, *Photo Litho to the Queen*, Holborn, London.

as assertors of our just rights, the seven bishops in the reign of James II. who refused to give orders that an illegal declaration of the King's should be read in the churches of their dioceses, and who, by the firmness of their conduct on that occasion, gave a very great impulse throughout the nation to the spirit of resistance provoked by James II.'s arbitrary proceedings. Their services in thwarting the King's unconstitutional policy were most opportune, and have merited high commendation and esteem.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Sancroft) was at their head, and Ken, who was Bishop of Bath and Wells, the most eminent of their number.

I think this enough for a full answer to your question.

J. R. PRETYMAN.

PRESTON BISSETT.

The village of Preston Bissett is said to have derived its name from Villa Presbyteri, "Priest's Town," and its additional appellation of Bissett from a distinguished family who held it in early times. In the year 1207 the manor of Prestone was held by Bishop Odo, and on the forfeiture of that Prelate's estates, it was bestowed on the family of Bissett, who held it till the year 1290, when William Bissett sold the manors of Prestone and Cowley to Hugh de Broc, whose daughter Laura possessed these manors and that of Finmere in 1323. But Dugdale states that John Wentworth married the heiress of the Bissett's, and that family retained possession of the lands till the reign of Henry V.; since that time the families of Roos, Manners, Denton, Coke, and Grenville, with a few intervening possessors of less note, have been successively lords of the manor of Preston.

Notwithstanding its proximity to the town of Buckingham, Preston has even now an isolated character, but within living memory it was approachable only by field cartways, intersected by many gates; it had no school, the church was in a state of utter neglect, the graveyard open to the road, and the rectory had been almost untouched since 1627. Two non-resident rectors filled the living from 1749 to 1823, and no squire has resided for two centuries, the manor having been absorbed in the Hillesden estate. The remains of the manor-house were demolished about twenty years since.

During the forty years incumbency of the Rev. J. E. Sabin, a change was effected; good schools and a new rectory were built, and the church twice underwent some measure of restoration, the first time in 1823, mainly with a view of preserving the fabric from entire ruin and rendering it more available for the poor; and again in 1853, when an unsightly gallery of the last century was removed, and several coats of yellow, blue, and black colouring disappeared from the pillars and arches, while some of the older features of the church were brought to light.

An entire restoration of the structure became an object of solicitude to the Rev. J. S. Bolden very soon after his institution in 1863, and this, with the aid of a few friends, he was enabled to effect before his recent resignation of the benefice. This church, which was reopened for worship on Easter Sunday, 1873, is an object of considerable interest to the archæologist, from the purity of the style of its architecture and its great age, apart from the consideration that the present building has supplanted a still more ancient structure, which must have been erected early in the twelfth century.

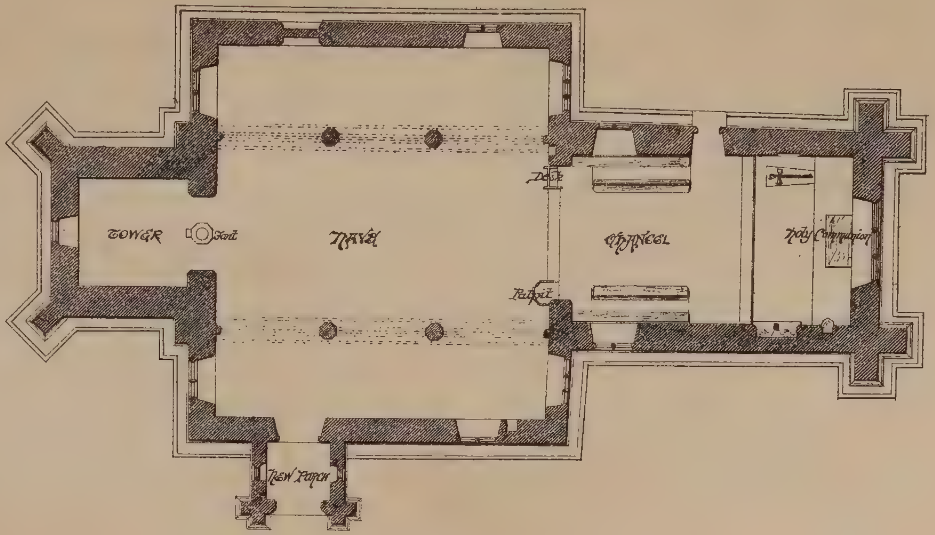
The church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and consists of a nave, north and south aisles opening from the nave by Gothic arches, supported by octagonal piers with moulded caps and bases irregularly worked, a chancel with a wide arch, remarkable for two grotesque corbels, and a low western tower about thirty-three feet high.

The total length from west to east internally is seventy-eight feet.

There is a clerestory over the nave arches, having three irregular circular windows on each side, which, before the restoration, had been deprived of their tracery.

There had been a south porch to the nave, and an ancient vestry on the north side of the chancel. There are two or three plain piscinæ in the church, and in the chancel is a handsome sedilia of two bays, under fine carved arches with crocketted pinnacles. The corbels represent a king, a bishop, and a veiled nun.

CHURCH : OF : S^T : JOHN : THE : BAPTIST
PRESTON : BISSETT



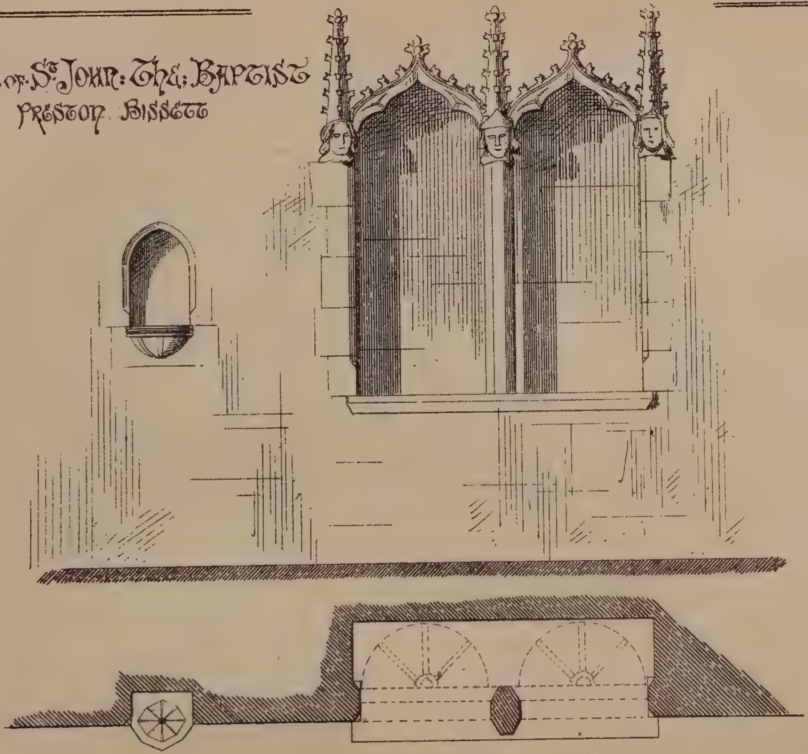
GROUND PLAN
AS RESTORED

Scale of 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

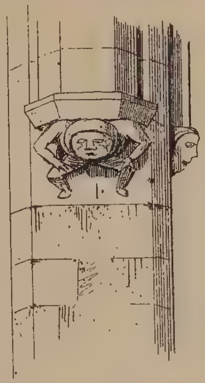
E. HABERSHON & BROCK ARCH^TS
37 BEDFORD PLACE
RUSSELL SQ^RE

Whiteman & Bass, *Photo Litho to the Queen*, Holborn, London.

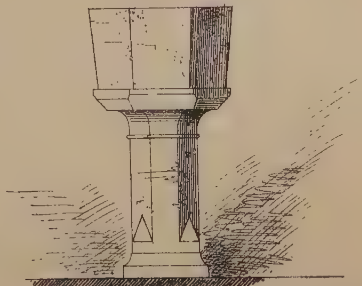
CHURCH: OF: St JOHN: THE: BAPTIST
PRESTON. BISSETT



ELEVATION AND PLAN OF SEDILLA AND PISCINA
SOUTH SIDE of The CHANCEL



CORBEL · CHANCEL ARCH



FONT.

E Habershon & Brock Archts
37 Bedford Place
Russell Square

The chancel is rather long in proportion to the nave, the latter being thirty-four feet long, apart from the length of the tower, and the former thirty feet. There is a small bell-cot, formerly used for the "Sanctus Bell," over the chancel-arch; this consists of a pointed arch, cut out of a single block of stone.

The church is remarkable for the beauty and purity of the tracery of the windows, there being a different pattern to each. The building is all of one date, and appears to have been erected about the year 1350.

The church stands on a rising ground at the entrance of the village, and is so screened by trees as to be almost invisible until the traveller from Buckingham is close to it, and the ivy, which, prior to the restoration, almost covered the walls, added considerably to its obscurity from a distance.

Before the works were commenced, its antiquity had caused sure signs of decay to be visible; the walls were sadly out of the perpendicular, and the effect of the elegant tracery of the windows twisted and bent was very unusual, the roofs were damp and decayed, and the seats were high and very close together.

All this is now changed; the worst of the walls have been rebuilt, either wholly or in part, and are now safe. The north side of the clerestory has been entirely rebuilt, while new tracery has been added to the windows on the south of the clerestory as well.

A new roof of open timber has been erected to the chancel, and this has been restored to its ancient height; while the large and handsome east window has been, with some of the other windows, taken out and reset.

New pavements of the old stone, and new open benches of uniform pattern, have been provided, and also new prayer-desk, and pulpit, and fittings for the Holy Communion.

The old rough cast and stopping has been entirely removed from the exterior walls, and the ancient stone facing revealed and pointed.

A porch over the old south door has been erected on the site of the former one. This is of stonework, to match the walling of the church, and in the same style.

Heating apparatus, new cathedral glass to the windows, and a new system of ventilation have been provided, to render the building well fitted for its uses; and to prevent damp and to show the building in its ancient proportions, a large accumulation of earth that had been deposited by degrees all round the walls externally has been removed.

During the progress of the works, many traces of the former structure of the Norman period were met with in the walls of the present building: these consisted of small semi-circular window heads, and the base of a large column of peculiar design, and several fragments of zigzag pattern. These have all been built up in the wall under the east window of the north aisle, to be preserved as memorials of the ancient church. A large stone slab with a plain cross was taken up, and has been relaid within the Communion rails; this is also a memorial older than the date of the present church.

The works have been executed by Mr. Hawkins, of Brackley, under the superintendence of Messrs. Habershon and Brock, architects, of 37, Bedford-place, London, at a cost of about £900.

NEW STAINED GLASS WINDOW IN AYLESBURY CHURCH.

The South Chapel of Aylesbury Church was in 1873 enriched with another stained glass window. The glass is from the manufactory of Messrs. O'Connor and Taylor, of 4, Berners-street, Oxford-street, and it is a worthy companion to the adjoining window, the work of the same artists. This window, presented to the Church by Miss Hatten, of the New Road, is designed to be a memorial window to her father and mother. Thus, as the centre window is a memorial by Mr. and Mrs. Ceely to their only son, so this new window is an obituary from an attached daughter to her parents. The subject of Miss Hatten's window is the mission of Abraham's servant (probably Eliezer of Damascus) to obtain a wife for Isaac (Gen. xxiv.) The left-hand picture, in the upper group of subjects, exhibits Eliezer in the Oriental attitude of deep reverence, receiving his instructions from Abraham. In the centre is the figure of Eliezer at the well near Nahor, in Mesopotamia, engaged in prayer for the success of his mission. Further on to the right is the meeting of Eliezer and Rebekah. Passing to the lower group, at the left hand, we have a representation of Rebekah on her camel, attended by the faithful Eliezer, on her way to her new home in Canaan. In the centre, below the single figure of Eliezer, is the solitary figure of Isaac, grieving for the loss of his mother, and perhaps praying in the still eventide that God would bless Eliezer's journey, the issues of which were so important. The last picture of the group represents Isaac leading Rebekah into his mother Sarah's tent; the figure in the tent representing not Sarah, for she was now dead, but some mourner, who, for the time, occupied her place.

Beneath the window is a brass plate, with the following inscription:—"To the Glory of God, and to the dear and grateful memory of Henry Hatten, who died May 10, 1863, and of Rebecca his wife, who died January 25, 1841, this window is dedicated by their first-born child, A.D. 1873. Glory be to Thee, O Lord."

Although some few of the details of this window may be open to criticism, the general treatment and execution fully sustain the reputation of the artists. It is, perhaps, too pictorial to satisfy the tastes of some, but the colouring is rich and harmonious; and the window, having a south aspect, both requires, and will bear, greater fulness of colour than would be desired in other positions. If we were disposed to mention any particular portions of the window as specially good, we should point to the single figure of Eliezer, and the meeting of Eliezer and Rebekah at the well, as showing great merit both in drawing and in colouring. The parishioners are much indebted to Miss Hatten, who, while thus gratifying her feelings of love and respect for her departed parents, has also contributed a valuable addition to the decorative features of the Parish Church.

E. B.

Proceedings of the Society, 1874.

THE ANNUAL Meeting was held on Tuesday, July 21st. The members met at St. Mary's Church, Wendover, at 11 o'clock. The most interesting features in this Church, architecturally, were pointed out by the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, Vice-President of the Society. He called attention to the fact that the piers of the arches had foliated capitals of the Decorated period, about the fourteenth century; but that at the same time the arches beneath the tower and also the chancel arch, were of an earlier period. This circumstance, he thought, pointed to the probability of the centre portion of the church having been injured or destroyed by fire or other accident, and to its re-building, in a different and more ornate style than had previously existed. The Decorated period followed the Early English, and commencing about A.D. 1272, ran through the reigns of the first, second, and third Edwards. One great characteristic of the Decorated period is the ornament called the ball-flower. This ornament may be seen in the moulding of the north door arch in this church in a very perfect state. Wendover church partook of both periods. This church was restored and re-opened June 1, 1869, from the designs of Mr. G. E. Street, the diocesan architect. The chancel retained the old Early English waggon roof; and there is a marked difference in the lines of the chancel and the body of the church—to the extent apparently of two or three feet. Some conversation took place respecting this fact—a fact not peculiar to Wendover, but found in many other churches. It was suggested that formerly there might have been in the minds of their architects, some idea of indicating the position of the Saviour on the Cross, with the head slightly reclining on one side, as generally represented in the pictures of the Crucifixion. The attention of the visitors was likewise drawn to the Bradshaw Brass in the wall of the South aisle.

The party then ascended the Chiltern hills, and visited the old and new churches of Lee. The old church has been converted, since the erection of the new one, into a school-room. The Ven. Archdeacon stated that the old church was founded in the thirteenth century, originally as a chapel-of-ease to Weston Turville. It appeared subsequently to have been given to the Benedictine Abbey of Great Missenden, to the possessions of which it was annexed; and it so continued till the dissolution of that establishment. Amongst its peculiarities are the different levels of the Early English windows in the north wall. The east window, also Early English, is very well proportioned; and in the south wall of the chancel formerly were a piscina and sedile, which have been removed to the new church. There is a little stained glass remaining in the east window, but of no great importance or beauty. In the churchyard is a very fine old yew tree, possibly coeval with the building itself. The new church, which was erected in 1868, is a handsome building, calling however for no particular remark, except that it is enriched with the old sedile and piscina, and also some ancient mural monuments of the family of the Plaistowes, from the old church.

Within half a mile of St. Leonard's the party examined a portion of Grimsdyke, or Gryms Dyke, the remarkable fosse or trench which runs nearly east and west through this part of Buckinghamshire. The Archdeacon said it was his opinion that it was not a military work, but was probably one of the territorial divisions of the island, perhaps of what is called the Saxon Heptarchy—that title being, however, in reality a misnomer. Looking at the direction in which it runs it might have served to divide South Mercia from North Mercia, and it was traceable from the Chilterns in Oxfordshire, across Buckinghamshire, into the adjoining county of Hertfordshire. One strong reason for believing Grimsdyke to have been constructed for boundary purposes, rather than military ones, was its length and position. It is remarkable that throughout its course it never reaches the summit of any of the higher hills, but it is carried at a uniform distance from the summit. With regard to the name Grims' Dyke, it might have been given at a later time, as synonymous with Wizard's Dyke, under the belief that it was of supernatural origin; Grima being the Saxon for Wizard. It is certainly a most interesting feature in the county. One curious suggestion had been made that it was the work of the Roman Emperor Severus, whose name had been translated "grim" by the Saxons. It was remarkable that though in this district we have comparatively few mediæval memorials, there are many earlier remains reaching back to the remote times of the Saxons and Britons. This Grimsdyke could not have been a Roman work, for the Roman works were constructed in straight lines, of which the old Watling-street was an example, but the course of Grimsdyke was, on the contrary, extremely devious. In a charter given in the reign of Henry III. to a monastery at Ashridge, its name occurs.

St. Leonard's Chapel was next visited. The Archdeacon said there could be no doubt that this had been the site of a place of Christian worship for at least eight hundred years. It was originally a cell or hermitage connected with the Abbey at Missenden, and towards the end of the thirteenth century it seemed to have been granted by the Monks to the rector of Aston Clinton. Though it was now independent, it still held a sort of filial relation to Aston Clinton. The present church shows some traces of the Decorated period, and it was still standing in 1491; but its fortunes afterwards fell very low; for during the Civil Wars, when so large a portion of this district of England was overrun by the Parliamentary forces, it was almost utterly destroyed, little remaining of it beside the bare walls. After the Restoration, towards the close of the seventeenth century, it was rebuilt by Colonel Cornelius Wood, who also endowed it, and his brother became its minister during more than thirty years. Very little now remains of the older church. The mural monument to Colonel Wood bears a characteristic representation of that gentleman, in the Ramilies wig of the period, surrounded by various martial trophies, while the accompanying inscription records not merely his restoration of the church, but his military honours and exploits in the wars of the period.

The party then proceeded to Cholesbury. The name Cholesbury is suggestive of cold, as was subsequently explained; but the Bucks Archæologists did not find their reception by any means correspond, for they met with a hospitable luncheon at the Rectory, which would have been much more enjoyed if the respected incumbent, the Rev. H. P. Jeston, who was unfortunately suffering from temporary illness, had been personally able to welcome his guests. After partaking of Mr. Jeston's hospitality, an adjournment was made to the church; and the first point to which the Archdeacon called the attention of his auditors was that this church stands within the limits of an ancient encampment. The name of Cholesbury, Chill wolds bury, or "the fort of the chill wolds," expresses the bleak and high table-land surrounding the encampment. The question was whether that encampment, which they would presently inspect, and which was one of the most perfect and interesting in England, had belonged to the Britons, Romans, Saxons, or Danes. His own impression was that it was Danish, as the British forts were smaller and less regular, and those of the Romans were square, whereas this was oval. It seemed to have been one of a chain of Danish encampments, running from east to west across the country, and of which there were other examples to be met with at West Wycombe, Danesfield, and other places in Buckinghamshire. There were indications in the size of this encampment, enclosing about ten acres, which lead to the belief that it was of the nature of a fortified village. There were other evidences to show that this district was the scene of the great struggle between the Danes and Saxons. That it was largely occupied by the Danes might be shown by the names of places around. For instance, they had a Danish derivation in the hoe, meaning a hill, which was found in the name of Ivinghoe. The word Desborough, the name of one of the three Hundreds of the Chilterns, is believed to be a corruption of Danesborough. Other Danish terms were also to be found in the district. The church was then entered, and the Archdeacon stated that the present building was erected early in the fourteenth century, and was dedicated to St. Lawrence. It was originally a chapel-of-ease to Drayton Beauchamp. It is said to have been separated from that living, and made independent, in the reign of Henry VIII. The church has been recently restored, mainly by the liberality and exertion of the present incumbent, every regard being paid to the original architecture. The arch of the south doorway is of the Early English period, indicating the existence of an earlier church. Some peculiarities were noted in the windows, and the general date of the present building was fixed at 1310. The architect who planned and carried out the restoration was Mr. W. Glover, favourably known in connection with other churches in the county. On leaving the church, an inspection was made of the encampment. The Archdeacon remarked upon the extent of the encampment, as one great argument in favour of its Danish origin, the Danes having been in the habit of bringing their families and property within their fortified camp for greater security. The strength of this entrenchment must, from the height and thickness of its mounds, and the depth of the fosses, have been very great. Within its limits, Bury Pond—that is, "the pond of the fort"—was pointed out, being the spot from which the encampment was doubtless supplied with water. Dry as the present summer has been, this pond is still full of excellent water, and is said never to have failed.

The next visit was to Hawridge. Here also is the site of an ancient circular encampment, similar to the one at Cholesbury, but smaller, and probably British. The church is a modern structure, built a few years ago by Mr. White, and possesses no features of special interest.

The party then drove to The Bury, Chesham, the residence of Wm. Lowndes, Esq., when they were most hospitably entertained. Previous to the luncheon a visit was paid to the church of St. Mary. This beautiful church has been remarkably well restored under the superintendence of Sir G. Scott. A very interesting and detailed account of the restoration has been published in this volume of the Records, page 24.

The church having been inspected, and Mr. Lowndes' hospitality done ample justice to, the Society adjourned to the drawing-room, and held their

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Archdeacon was called upon to take the chair, and announced that the first business on the agenda was the election or re-election of the vice-presidents. The Lord Bishop of Oxford was *ex officio* president. The vice-presidents having been re-elected, the Chairman suggested the addition to the list of their worthy host, Mr. Lowndes, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Lowndes thanked the Society for the honour, and hoped if he were ever called upon to discharge the duties of the office he should be enabled to do so to their satisfaction.

The honorary secretaries, the Rev. C. Lowndes, Rev. B. Burgess, and Rev. J. Wood, were then unanimously reappointed.

The re-election of the Rev. C. Lowndes, as honorary treasurer, was also agreed to.

The Rev. C. Lowndes then read the treasurer's report. The Receipts amounted to £72 5*s.* 0*d.* The Disbursements £67 7*s.* 6*d.*, leaving a balance in hand of £4 17*s.* 6*d.*

The Rev. C. Lowndes then read the report of the Committee for the past year.

"In placing before you a short review of the proceedings of the Society, your Committee are glad to have it in their power to speak in gratifying terms of its general condition and prospects.

"The Society has now been in existence a quarter of a century, and during that period has collected a vast amount of local information, of antiquarian and architectural interest, which your Committee has had much satisfaction in printing in the Society's publications. Several members, who have given their time to the study of history and the deeds of past ages, have kindly contributed the results of their labours for insertion in the 'Records,' and thereby have added materially to the elucidation of those subjects for the advancement of which the Society was founded.

"A County Museum was established in the year 1862 at Aylesbury, in connection with the Society; and though its origin is humble, and it is still but the nucleus of a museum, it has kept slowly and steadily increasing by the addition of a few presents annually. Your Committee have great pleasure, on the present occasion, in reporting a very large addition of interesting objects, which have been presented by Miss Hamilton, of Ivinghoe. These objects consist of 60 cases of stuffed birds and animals, a cabinet of birds' eggs, a cabinet of butterflies, a cabinet of tertiary fossils, a number of other fossils, a collection of shells, and a few coins.

"Your Committee venture to express a hope that the day is not far distant when a building will be erected in Aylesbury worthy of a County Museum.

"Your Committee trust that the annual meetings and excursions in different parts of the county have been arranged and carried out to the satisfaction of those members who have attended them."

The adoption of the report and statement of accounts was carried.

The following new members, who had been proposed at a committee meeting, and approved of, were elected:—The Rev. E. Bunbury, the Gaol, Aylesbury; Miss Chalk, Quainton; Captain F. Peel, Grymes Dyke, Risborough, Tring; Mr. T. Poulton, Lacey Green, Risborough; Rev. C. Shilson, Halton; Mr. R. Webb, High Wycombe; Miss Lawford, St. Mary's Lodge, Linslade; and Mr. Cooper, Aylesbury.

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. W. J. Burgess to make a statement he had promised them upon the earthworks and other antiquities on the Chiltern Hills.

The Rev. W. J. Burgess said he should say only a few words, as he was really unprepared to say anything on the subject. He was sorry he had not been present when they were inspecting the remains of the Grimsdyke. They must remember that one of the characteristics of the Chiltern Hills district, was that it was a forest country, considerable woodlands still existing on the Chiltern Hundreds. The wildness of the district, in former times, doubtless gave rise to the appointment of wardens or stewards, whose original office was to look after the banditti harbouring in the forests, in the same way as wardens had been appointed in the border country of England and Scotland, to keep a check upon and punish the moss troopers who infested that northern district. The necessity of such an office implied a degree of violence and lawlessness, which proved that the country was then, to a great extent, wild and unreclaimed. As regarded the earthworks to be found in the Chiltern district, he certainly was of opinion that they bore marks of being rather of British than of Danish origin. And though the encampment at Cholesbury might have been occupied by the Danes, he believed it was originally a fortified village of our ancient British ancestors. That it was not a Roman entrenchment was proved by its shape—the Romans being in the habit of making their camps square, while both that and most of the other earthworks in this part of the country were circular. He believed that both the camp at Cholesbury and the one at Hawridge, also called a Danish encampment, were of the same character—ancient fortified villages. He then noticed discoveries which had been made of Roman antiquities, of which the country was full, in the shape of villas and camps, one of the latter being at Velvet Lawn, while the remains of villas had been found also at Great and Little Kimble, and on the Latimer estate. The vestiges found were of the usual Roman character. He considered it probable that the whole of the Roman colonists might not have quitted Britain at the close of the Roman military occupation, but that some might have remained behind, traces of whose residence were still to be found. Referring to the Icknield Way, he gave the probable origin of its name. That road extended from east to west, and appeared to have been laid down in accordance with the usual custom of the Romans, as regarded its directness from point to point, and its name was probably given to it from the country of the Iceni where it commenced on the eastern side. There were remains of that road at Princes Risborough, and it could be traced in various places in a very distinct and beautiful manner. It was a remarkable characteristic of this road that there must have been a considerable population along its line, as was proved by the number of churches which were built upon it. With regard to the ancient earthwork called Grimsdyke, the origin of its name was lost in the mists of antiquity. An old lady, who built a house upon it, and was proud of its position, said that she had heard that it was constructed by the Roman Emperor Severus, the English of which was grim. Some people were of opinion that Grimsdyke had been a Roman road, but he did not consider it was straight enough, as the Roman roads went direct from one point to another, whereas Grimsdyke had a devious course. It had been traced from the upper part of Risborough across the county into Hertfordshire, some traces of it being found on Berkhampstead Common. As to its origin and purpose, some people thought they were military, but he was of opinion that it was a boundary line, rather than a military work. It had remained comparatively uninjured, through a long lapse of time, which was probably due to the woodland character of the country through which it passed, in consequence of which it had not been interfered with by the operations of the plough. Another of these ancient roads ran from Tring through Aylesbury, in a very straight course towards Bath. It was the Akeman-street, a name which had been ascribed to the aching men on their way to Bath. The fortifications on the Chiltern Hills he thought might have been originally those of Britons, who afterwards gave way to the Roman occupation. The Danish invasion seemed to have run across to the Berkshire hills, to the vale of White Horse. The White Horse is supposed to be a memorial of King Alfred's great victory over them in that locality. In conclusion, Mr. Burgess said that he had committed nothing to paper on the present occasion, but he had taken a good deal of interest in the subject, and it seemed to him to be one upon which a considerable amount of information might yet be gathered.

The Chairman asked Mr. Burgess' opinion upon the White Leaf Cross.

Mr. Burgess said it had been thought that the Monks Risborough Cross commemorated some victory gained by the Saxons. The Cross was what is called a Roman cross, standing on a Calvary, and he thought the chances were that it had been constructed by the monks of the Risborough convent, and may not have been the commemoration of any Saxon victory at all. The Bledlow cross was of a different type altogether. It was of the Greek type, and probably of more modern construction.

The Chairman, in reference to Mr. Burgess' remarks touching the Cholesbury encampment, read a paper given him by Mr. Jeston, bearing upon the subject in which the writer says:—"I am glad to find your neighbours are so careful of ancient monuments—'better late than never.' As to the circle of Cholesbury, it seems to me a Danish Fort; and our old writers are so full of the operations of the Danes in that neighbourhood that they add good evidence of this view. Ralph Higden says, 'The Danes raised fortresses on both sides of the Ouse at Buckingham; and, according to Florence of Worcester, they committed great depredations between Aylesbury and the Forest of Bernwood. I think this was a fortified camp to keep in check the inhabitants who still held the woodlands to the north of your parish. Our British fortresses in Wilts are irregular as to form, with so much less symmetry; and although Cæsar, in one place, mentions a fort as exhibiting some skill, *locum nacti egregie et natura et opere munitum;* yet this was only 12 miles from the Kentish coast, where the Britons were more civilised than in Bucks, where, it is plain, Cæsar never came, or he would not have said the beech was no native of Britain. The camp at Cholesbury is, I think, the most perfect of the kind I ever saw. This parish, in the Doomsday Survey, appears to have been included in Drayton Beauchamp, and in all probability became a separate parish shortly after: for in 1091 Hamon, son of Shamfelon, and Wm. Peveril gave Cholesbury to the Knights Templars. Upon their suppression it passed to the Knights of St. John, with whom it remained until the Dissolution; when, probably, Henry VIII. granted it to Sir John Baldwin, L.J.C., in whose family it continued in James I.'s reign. The Neals, it is likely, purchased it from the Beauchamps. In the 38 Edward III., Cholesbury is called a Hamlet of Drayton. This was a grant from the King to Thomas Cheyne of the Manor of Drayton, "with the hamlets of Chelwaldesbury, Helpsthorp, Massworth, and Saundredon."

Cole, in his MSS., from which these facts are taken, observes, "The Manor of Chowlesbury, as well as the Church, was, as I conceive, originally appendant to Drayton Beauchamp." As Cole was an antiquary of sound judgment, his opinion is of considerable weight. There is a tolerably regular succession of Rectors from 1230 to 1416; after which the Rectory and Vicarage seem to have been swallowed up in the endowments of the Knights of St. John, and the Church has since been served by Curates."

The Archdeacon then remarked that no doubt the Danes did overrun Buckinghamshire; and at the same time it was quite possible that they might have taken possession of some of the fortified villages of the ancient Britons, who might have become, after the time of Cæsar, more civilized. It was remarkable that though they had so many traces of previous history amongst the Chiltern Hills, they knew comparatively little of their history during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, beyond the fact that in the time of Edward the Third, the Black Prince was connected with Princes Risborough. He was glad to find that though Mr. Burgess differed from him as to the Danish character of the Cholesbury camp, he agreed with him in respect of the origin of the Grimsdyke.

The Archdeacon expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Lowndes for his kind and hospitable reception of them on the present occasion, and their hope that he would help them on future occasions as one of the vice-presidents.

Mr. Lowndes, in reply, thanked the Archdeacon and the Society for their kindness in paying a visit to the Bury. He moved a vote of thanks to the Archdeacon for his conduct in the chair.

The Archdeacon returned thanks. He said they were greatly indebted to Mr. Burgess for giving them such an interesting account of the antiquities of the county. He also added that there was none to whom the Society was more indebted than the Rev. C. Lowndes, who always made all their arrangements with great care and skill.

The Rev. C. Lowndes returned thanks.

The party then were speedily on their way homewards, stopping by the way at

GREAT MISSENDEN.

Here they inspected the Abbey Church, a fine old building, but disfigured at present by unsightly galleries, which will, doubtless, in due time be removed. The church is dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul

Archdeacon Bickersteth states that there is some confusion in the accounts of the original foundation of the monastery of Great Missenden, and he adds the following particulars from Dugdale and Lysons. The Foundation Charter still exists, from which it appears that it was founded by Sir William de Missenden, Knight, in A.D. 1133. Amongst the witnesses to this Deed is Richard de Urville, Archdeacon of Buckingham, who appears to have held lands adjoining those made over to the Abbey by Sir William de Missenden and his son Hugh. Another record states that the endowment was further augmented by the family as a mark of gratitude for preservation from shipwreck in the fourteenth century. It is this second endowment which seems to have thrown some obscurity upon the date of the original foundation. It is indeed probable that there was some ecclesiastical foundation here previous to that of Sir William de Missenden. It may be further remarked that the style of architecture of the church corresponds with the historical records just indicated : the older portions of the Abbey Church being Early English, coeval with William de Missenden; the later portions being Decorated and Perpendicular, about the date of Thomas de Missenden. That there was a very early endowment for religious purposes here may be inferred from the name of the place. For Missenden, in all probability, derives its name from *missa* or *mass,* thus indicating land charged with payment for masses. Thus Misbourne would signify the *mass-brook ;* and Missenden, the *valley* of the *mass.*

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY THE REV. J. R. PRETYMAN, M.A.

(*Continued from page* 267.)

No. V.

INSURRECTIONS OF THE COMMONS IN 1381 AND 1450, AND THE EXTINCTION OF SERFDOM AND VILLENAGE.

The following statement on these two subjects, closely connected together as they are, is from a contemporary but anonymous pen :—

In the insurrection of the Commons of England, as it is styled, under Wat Tyler, produced, doubtless, by harsh conduct towards the common people, and carried on in many respects with undue violence—as a mob excited with success are most likely to act—it is worth while to observe the comparatively moderate nature of the demands then made.

1. The total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children for ever.
2. The reduction of the rent of good land to fourpence per acre.
3. The full liberty of buying and selling in all markets like other men.
4. A general pardon.

Now in all these demands, except as to the rent of land, there will be considered, according to our present ideas, nothing but justice. They show that even in those times the common people of England were not deficient in that good sense and moderation which we make it our boast that they still possess. The popular cry was for "King Richard and the Commons," very different from a tocsin which has in later days sounded in our ears for "Liberty and equality."

Seventy years after, that is in A.D. 1450, another demonstration on the part of the people, under the individual Jack Cade, did service by helping the people to their right position.

In 1381 the demands were confined to the abolition of the system of villenage or slavery, and the enjoyment of such rights as, being men, they were entitled to. *In 1450 no mention is made of villenage; that was settled.*

What was now insisted upon was the redress of public grievances, such as—

The profuse waste by the King of the revenues of the crown, the illegal seizure of the property of the subject, and the exclusion from offices of the government of persons of the highest rank and greatest national influence in the kingdom, in favour of foreigners and low-born ministers.

The extortion of collectors of taxes; and

Delay in the administration of justice.

In all these there was nothing of that levelling spirit which we are now accustomed to look for in popular demonstrations. On the contrary, a spirit of devotion to authority seems paramount, accompanied by a keen sense of wrong, and a manly determination that it must be redressed.

About and just before this time, a great, though insensible, amendment in the condition of those classes had taken place in the general transformation of the villeins into freemen; and, although some delay and impediments were interposed by private interests before the total change was effected, it still went on, whether caused by the act of the serf himself, by flying from his master, and his residence in some town for a year and a day, and thus acquiring what constituted freedom, or else by the free action of the masters themselves, or else by the very change of the terms of their servitude. Thus the "villain regardant" became the copyholder, and the "villain in gross" the "free labourer."

Thus at the end of the fourteenth and the commencement of the fifteenth century was an end put to a system which depressed the energies of the people and kept them in a condition without hope or redress.

GROWTH AND PREDOMINANCE OF PAPAL POWER IN ENGLAND.

For a thorough knowledge of English history it is necessary to have a fair knowledge of the ecclesiastical part of it, which is much intertwined with our civil and constitutional annals. A reference to the history of the English Reformation, and of its manifold consequences, will amply illustrate this remark.

But the history of the Reformation cannot be duly appreciated, nor its causes or its necessity be clearly perceived, without some knowledge of the previous history of the English Church, particularly of the nature and extent of the power which the occupants of the See of Rome then exercised over it.

During the period of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy the Roman Bishop had but little if any jurisdiction over the Church of England. The Normans may be said to have introduced it into this country.

The Conqueror was a loyal adherent of the Papacy, to which he owed a debt of gratitude for the powerful moral support in his invasion of England which he received from the Papal sanction of his enterprise.

William, however, took care to employ the Papal power for the furtherance of his own views, as in the degradation of the Primate Stigand and other Anglo-Saxon prelates; and he firmly checked its pretensions when they appeared to clash with his own authority. Nor can any stronger proof of William's force of character, and of his greatness as a politician, be adduced than the effectual stand which he alone, of all the sovereigns of his time, made against claims advanced by the mighty Hildebrand, Gregory VII., his contemporary on the Papal throne.

In this policy he was followed by his two sons and successors. It was in the disturbed reign of Stephen that the Pope was enabled to extend his authority beyond the bounds which the first three Norman kings had set to it. In this reign he gained a step for which he had previously striven in vain; authority independent of the king's to hold in this country, under the presidency and commanding influence of one of his legates, ecclesiastical councils for the enactments of laws, or, as they were called "canons," by which the affairs of the English Church should be regulated.

Under Henry II., although that powerful monarch was a decided enemy of Papal encroachments, the Pope nevertheless gained great advantage from the results of the contest of Becket with that monarch.

One of the constitutions which he made at Clarendon had, as we have seen, been directly levelled against the Pope's appellate jurisdiction, while the general tendency of these enactments was obviously adverse to Papal interests and pretensions; but the strong feeling excited in favour of the cause to which Becket was considered to have fallen a martyr, hindered these constitutions from being carried into effect, and thus afforded a triumph to the Pope over the English King.

Under King John the Papal power, then wielded by the resolute and politic Innocent III., made great advances in this country, assuming a considerable share in the management of the affairs not only of the church, but of the realm also, and even obtaining so complete an acknowledgment of its supremacy as a cession of the crown, to be held by John and his successors in fee from the Papacy.

During the reign of Henry III. the Pope asserted with eminent success all his pretensions of interference in the concerns both of the church and the realm, and his power in England may be said to have reached its zenith.

One of the principal causes which facilitated the extension of Papal power in England was the recourse which several of our kings had to that power for aid in coercing their subjects, and in levying contributions upon the clergy.

The recourse which our kings thus had to Papal authority, of necessity tended greatly to exalt that authority in this country; while, to purchase the support of the Pope, the kings were obliged to make large concessions to his claims. In fact, to use a common expression, the two potentates, for their respective ends, often played into each other's hands in encroaching upon the rights and purses of the English Church and people. This kind of joint proceeding may especially be observed in the reigns of Stephen, John, and Henry III. Afterwards, when the Pope of the time being used his assumed authority adversely to the wishes of the English King, frequent contests took place, in which the King would call in the aid of his Parliament against his Papal opponent.

One of the chief points for which the Pope, in prosecution of the settled policy of his see, contended, and which he gained in varying degrees at different times, was the drawing to himself of *appeals* in all questions of an ecclesiastical kind, and in all causes which came before the ecclesiastical courts of England. As these courts dealt with a great number of important subjects of litigation, including wills, marriages, and the rights of widows and orphans, it is evident how much influence the Papacy must have exercised by means of its appellate jurisdiction. The practice of appeals enabled a suitor in any of these courts, at any stage of the suit, to hinder or protract the process by transferring it on appeal to Rome. Nor was the Pope's appellate jurisdiction merely in itself a substantial element of power, it also enabled the See of Rome to secure another very important prerogative. It was the steady policy of the Church of Rome to use the acquisition of one point as a vantage-ground for reaching at other points.* Accordingly, when it had established its appellate power, it soon began to employ that power as the means of obtaining the disposal, in great measure, of the bishoprics, abbeys, and other preferments in the English Church.

In the next paper will be explained the gradual manner in which this power of ecclesiastical patronage grew out of the appellate jurisdiction which the Pope had established in England.

I proceed to notice the immense wealth which the Romish See drew from the country. As this wealth greatly strengthened his power, so also the taxation by which the Pope was enriched, was a constant and successful assertion of his authority. He succeeded in establishing a claim to receive "first-fruits," or, as they were also called, "Annates," that is, one year's revenue of all the benefices in England above a certain value.

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* It has been remarked that the popes seemed to have inherited from ancient Rome the ambition and arts of empire, though the weapons used were often of a different kind.

Again he received "tenths," that is, a tenth part of the annual income of the benefices. He also collected from the people at large a yearly tax called "Peter's pence." A remnant of this last contribution may still be seen in many churches on the Continent, where a box is set up for the reception of the "Denier de St. Pierre," which, however, is now a purely voluntary contribution. All of these channels by which money flowed into the Papal exchequer were suddenly stopped by Henry VIII., who, however, diverted to his own use and that of his successors the above-mentioned "first-fruits" and "tenths."

It may be mentioned, in passing, that these two taxes on the benefices of the clergy are still collected according to a valuation made in the reign of Henry VIII.; but that, in pursuance of a statute of Queen Anne called the "Bounty Act," the proceeds of them are applied to the augmentation of small livings.

We thus see how extensive a supremacy the Pope had established over the Church of England: making laws for it by means of the councils which he held in England under his legates; regulating many of its affairs; deciding questions that arose in it; judging in a great multiplicity of causes that came before its courts; appointing, to a great extent, its prelates and other dignitaries; and raising from it a large amount of taxation.

The monks and particularly the friars were the principal upholders and promoters of his authority in England. They were, to a great extent, exempted by him from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and were made subject to his visitation alone, and were thus, practically, left under very little authority of any kind — a fact which goes far towards accounting for the extent to which the monastic discipline became relaxed. Monks and friars looked up to the Pope as their sole superior, while friars were especially employed by him to subserve his interests and administer his affairs, pecuniary and other, in the kingdom. Hence, when the time of the Reformation at length came, Henry VIII. and his advisers felt that, in order to extirpate the Papal power from this country, it would be necessary to demolish its great strongholds, the monastic establishments.

PRÆMUNIRE AND PROVISORS.

The claims of predominance over the English Church which, previously to the Reformation, the Popes asserted, and which they made good to a great extent, though in varying degrees at different times, led, as we know, to frequent contests between our Kings and their Parliaments on the one hand, and the Papacy on the other.

In these contests, the statutes of Præmunire and Provisors (as they are called) played an important part. Let us inquire into their nature and history. As I observed in the last of these papers, one of the principal methods by which the Popes extended their authority was drawing to themselves *appeals* on any question that might arise in Church matters. Among other matters on which appeals were often made were the elections and appointments to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical benefices, about which disputes had arisen. At first the Popes only pronounced between the contending parties who claimed the disputed appointment. Then they would sometimes, after setting aside both the claimants as unduly appointed, ordain a fresh election or presentation. Afterwards, on rejecting both the contending claimants as unduly appointed, the Popes gained the further step of appointing by their own authority some third person to the vacant benefice.

At last they took it on themselves to appoint absolutely, *without* any dispute about the appointment having arisen. This they called "providing" a successor, whether a bishop or other ecclesiastic, and the proceeding was called a "provision," the person whom they appointed being the "provisor," so called. As it may be supposed, the proceeding was often stoutly opposed by the electors or patrons of benefices, and by those individuals whom the electors or patrons endeavoured to appoint to vacant benefices.

What made the grievance more deeply and widely felt was the frequency with which the Pope appointed to these preferments foreign ecclesiastics who resided out of the kingdom. The matter was brought as a grievance before Parliament as early as the reign of Edward I., and a succession of Acts about it were passed, beginning with an Act of Edward III., in 1343, and ending in an Act of Richard II., in 1393. This last Act effectually stopped the practice of Papal "provisions." All these statutes are called the statutes of "Provisors and Præmunire." The word "præmunire" is a corruption of *præmoneri*. The Acts are called by this name because the writ, issued by one of the courts of Westminster preparatory to a prosecution under these Acts, began with the words—"Præmoneri facias,* Forewarn," etc.

Thus, then, we may see the etymology of the expression, "Acts of Provisors and Præmunire." It is an elliptical and obscure expression, intended to denote certain Acts passed to prevent the Pope from putting his nominees or "provisors" into English benefices, and to inflict on persons aiding the Pope in such attempts certain penalties which would follow conviction under a legal prosecution, of which the first step would be the issuing of a writ from one of the Courts of Westminster, affecting persons accused of violating these Acts, and commencing with the word, "Præmoneri facias."

The practice of "provisions" was applied to every kind of benefice, from bishoprics and abbacies down to rectories and vicarages, whether the proper patron of them were the king, the higher clergy, or laymen. The pretext of the Pope was, that he was thus enabled to maintain persons who served him in the government of the Western Church.

To illustrate these "provisions," and the manner in which they were resisted, an account shall be given of the occurrences which took place with regard to one of them. This account will furnish a specimen of these proceedings, and will also show how they were finally stopped. In defiance of all the previous Acts of Provisors and Præmunire, the Pope, in the year 1391, during Richard II.'s reign, gave to an Italian cardinal a provision to a prebend then vacant in the Cathedral of Wells. The King, who was the proper patron, presented another man to the prebend. It must be premised, that before any one can enter into the possession of a prebend or other living in the Church, he must first be *instituted*, as it is called, by the bishop of the diocese.

Now, in order to *compel* a bishop to institute a "provisor," the Pope used to hold over the bishop's head either the penalty of *excommunication* or the threat of translating him to some See out of the kingdom. In the particular instance of which I am now speaking, the bishop was willing to institute the King's nominee instead of the Pope's "provisor," but, of course, felt a difficulty about disobeying the Pope's orders; and the Parliament came to the bishop's succour, by passing (in the year 1393) the last and most comprehensive of all the Acts of Provisors and Præmunire. In this Act it was ordained, "that if any man pursue or obtain in the Court of Rome such translations, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things *against the King's Crown and regality, or kingdom*, or receive, notify, or execute them, such person or persons, or their aiders, shall be out of the King's protection, their goods, chattels, lands, and tenements shall be forfeited to the King, and their persons imprisoned." This enactment, by removing the bishop's apprehensions of the consequences of disobeying the Pope's command, stopped the Pope's "provisor" from being appointed to the prebend of Wells, and further, as I have mentioned, put an end to all attempts on the part of the Popes to *provide* persons to benefices in England.

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* See Lingard's "History of England."

The statute would work in this way: though the Pope might issue a Bull or other instrument, excommunicating or translating out of the kingdom a bishop who had refused to institute the Papal nominee (or "provisor"); yet, because of the penalties of the Act, persons would be deterred from bringing the Bull into the kingdom, or notifying it, and the Bull would thus remain inoperative even if brought in. In passing from this topic, I would briefly mention, that when Henry VIII. turned against Wolsey, he brought him within the penalties of the Acts of Provisors and Præmunire, as having introduced Papal Bulls, in violation of the terms of these Acts.

The term "præmunire" is still in use in our law, to denote the *penalty* specified in these Acts of "Præmunire and Provisors"—a penalty to which, by an Act of Henry VIII., any dean and chapter, for example, would be liable for refusing to elect a bishop whom the Crown recommended to their choice.

Henry VIII.'s Conduct as regards the Reformation.

Henry VIII., though endowed with much force of character, was, from his capricious disposition and the ungoverned violence of his temper, very inconstant in his conduct, and, though he had good abilities, and, for the times, considerable learning, he was not a wise man any more than he was a good man; hence he was for the time very much swayed by his wives and chief advisers, so long as they remained in his favour.

Accordingly, his conduct with regard to the Reformation was full of inconsistency. While Queen Catherine and Cardinal Wolsey were in his favour, he was strongly attached to the Popedom and the Roman religion, and even wrote a book against Luther. When Anne Boleyn was his queen, and Cromwell held the chief place in his confidence, he disavowed the Pope, and went into measures favouring the Reformation.

After the fall of Cromwell, he went vehemently into Romanizing measures; for, though he never gave his *entire* confidence to any one after Cromwell's execution, he was now considerably guided by the counsels of the Romish party at court, at the head of which were the crafty Gardiner and the Howards. Towards the end of his reign he withdrew much of his favour from these advisers, and leaned more and more to his son's relatives, the Seymours and their party, who were favourable to the Reformation. He was also at this time married to a favourer of the Reformation (Catherine Parr). Accordingly, at this last period of his reign, he was rather inclined again to further the Reformation.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the course of his policy with regard to the national religion was entirely the result of his private caprices and favouritism. He was much guided by the changeable temper of the times in which he lived. The Romish and Protestant parties were nearly equally balanced, and he kept the balance between them, sometimes making it to preponderate on one side, and sometimes on the other. At first—I mean at the time of the divorce question—the Papacy was extremely unpopular, and the nation went very generally with him in casting off the authority of the Pope.

But the violence, cruelty, and rapacity shown in the suppression of the monasteries, which followed the rejection of the Pope's authority, and the greatness of the change effected in doctrine and ceremonies, evidently shocked the minds of people, and produced a reaction in favour of the old religion, as was shown by the Lincolnshire rebellion, and the "Pilgrimage of Grace" in Yorkshire. Accordingly, just after these insurrections came the Six-Article Act (1539), which affirmed, under the severest penalties, some of the extreme doctrines of the Church of Rome. The prosecutions under this sanguinary law, which were very bitter, and under which the Reformers showed very great constancy, appeared to have caused another reaction in the public mind towards the Reformation; and we thus find Henry, towards the latter part of his reign, passing an Act to mitigate the Six-Articles Act, and going back in some degree into a line of policy favouring the Reformation. And it would seem that he meditated going still further in this direction, when death cut short his designs.

The result of all this is, that while Henry VIII. was in heart an adherent to many of the superstitions of Rome, and while he really cared but little for either Romanism or Protestantism, and was devoid of true religious principles, his conduct in these matters was guided partly by his own caprice and his favourites for the time, and partly by considerations of state policy.

THE DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES.

This was an event of great importance in the history of the Reformation, and of deep, and in some degree melancholy, interest. Before we speak of the demolition of the great fabric of monasticism in England, it will be well to revert to the history of its foundation, of its structure, of the design with which it was reared, of the uses and purposes which it served, and, lastly, of the decay into which it fell, and the abuses to which it was perverted.

Monasteries existed in England before the Conquest, and, indeed, before the mission of Augustine to England. After that event a considerable number began to be scattered over the country. Dunstan, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from the reign of Edgar to that of Ethelred, and the leading spirit of his age in England, was a zealous promoter of the monastic system.

The foundation or endowment of a monastery became a favourite form in which the religious munificence of kings and nobles was displayed. After the Conquest the establishment of new monasteries went on still more rapidly; especially till about the commencement of the 13th century, but even in that century not a few were founded. The 12th century, a century especially marked by its religious zeal here and in other lands, was that in which the foundation of monasteries chiefly prevailed.

A great many motives, no doubt, conduced to the multiplication of these institutions. Sometimes it was sincere piety, zeal, and charity; at other times it was the desire to secure the prayers and masses of a number of religious persons in perpetuity for the supposed benefit of the souls of the founder and his family. Often it was the tardy remorse or repentance of a dying man, who had committed acts of violence, rapacity, or extortion, or his desire to make a restitution of property unlawfully seized. The idea of a monastery was that of a society of men who have withdrawn themselves from the cares of the world and renounced its ordinary pleasures, in order that they might give themselves up to an undisturbed life of worship and religious contemplation. The institution owed its origin to a desire to escape from the temptations of the world, and from the hindrances it offers to a life of piety and holiness.

At the same time it was provided that the members of these bodies should obey the great law of toil; some orders of monks, accordingly, like the Cistercians, were bound by their rules to apply themselves to manual labour in the cultivation of the soil; others, such as the Benedictines, to literary and scientific pursuits, such as studying and copying out the ancient classics, the Scriptures, books of devotion and the works of the fathers, studying and practising the art of medicine, paying attention to natural science and arithmetical and mathematical studies, illuminating and painting manuscripts, teaching scholars in the monastery, etc. By these means they would, it was thought, escape the reproach of being useless members of society, and of contributing nothing to the temporal welfare of the civil community. Accordingly, "orare et laborare" was the current description of the duties of monastic life.

All monks, in assuming the cowl, took the three vows: 1, of *poverty*; 2, of *celibacy*; 3, of *obedience* to their superior's commands.

Almsgiving, the care of the poor, and hospitality to travellers, were recognized as especial duties, and were very largely practised by the monks. There is no question but that the monastic system conferred great benefit on mankind, especially during the worst part of the middle ages. In those dark and turbulent times the monasteries kept alive the lamp of piety, and were the refuges of learning, science, and art. To the care of the monks we owe the preservation of the literature of Greece and Rome, of the works of the Christian writers of the earlier ages, and perhaps of the Holy Scriptures themselves. The monks were the especial friends and protectors of the poor and the oppressed. They reclaimed and made fertile, by their skilful and patient labours, vast tracts of waste and barren lands, and thus in no small degree contributed to swell the material resources of the countries in which they were settled.

But towards the time of the Reformation, it was felt, both in England and on the Continent, that they had done their work. The invention of printing and the growing intelligence of mankind, had begun to spread abroad the learning which hitherto had chiefly been confined within the walls of the cloister. At the same time monasticism itself had, to a very great degree, degenerated and departed from its original design.* The monks had, to a great extent, become wealthy and idle, and often luxurious, and even dissolute. A secular spirit had deeply infected them. Their religion had become very much a matter of form and ceremony without its life; they had become the patrons of much error and superstition; and in some instances practised imposture on the public. The monastic life had become, to a great extent, a mere means of providing for the indigent and idle of all classes. Hence, when in this country, their dissolution was undertaken, the community was generally indifferent to their fate, and to a certain extent, prepared to welcome it; whereas two or three centuries before, no monarch, probably, had he meditated their destruction, would have been able to accomplish it, or even to attempt it, without braving the effects of public indignation.

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* For an account of the state of Continental monasticism, at this period, the reader is referred to the descriptions given by Erasmus.

It should be mentioned that one great cause of the degeneracy of spirit and conduct which led to their downfall, was the common practice of obtaining from the Pope *exemption* from the supervision of the *Bishops*, and of making the Pope himself their superior. The effect of this was that practically they were under no sort of inspection or control, and became thus a number of isolated communities scattered over the kingdom, "doing what was right in their own eyes," and with no authority over them to check any disorders that might spring up among them.

By the time that Henry VIII., under the advice of his minister, Cromwell, had determined upon their destruction, the monasteries had so far fallen in the general estimation, that the measure might be successfully attempted.

What led immediately to his determination was, his fear of the power of the Pope, with whom he had lately broken, and who had his firmest and warmest supporters in England among the monks, and especially among the friars, a particular order of monks. It seems to have been apprehended that either Henry must pull down the monks, or they would pull him down. Accordingly he began with the lesser monasteries, because the friars, the Pope's most zealous adherents, were all comprehended in them. It may be observed here that the friars (frères) were of a somewhat different kind from the ordinary monks. The class of friar was not established until the earlier part of the 13th century, and their earliest and principal orders were those of the Dominicans and Franciscans, so called from their founders, St. Dominic and St. Francis. Their principal difference from the monks was that they held, or professed to hold, no estates, were supported by alms, and were not confined to their houses, but travelled over the country begging, preaching, and administering the offices of religion, and managing the Pope's temporal affairs. They were in fact a complete militia, so to speak, of the Pope's, to whom alone they were spiritually subject, and to whose service they were especially devoted. Hence it was determined to destroy their establishments, and in order to comprehend them, the fate of all the lesser monasteries, among which the houses of the friars were numbered, was sealed.

Accordingly in 1535, when Henry had two years before finally broken off all connection with the Popedom, when he was still under the influence of Anne Boleyn and the advice of Cromwell and other Protestant counsellors, the first step was taken for the destruction of smaller monasteries.

A number of visitors were sent all over the kingdom, nominally for the purpose of inquiring into the condition and administration of these establishments, but really to obtain charges against them which might serve as a plea to their destruction. The men employed for this purpose were a set of thoroughgoing tools of Cromwell's, obscure men of no repute or standing in the country, and, as their subsequent doings proved, men of a very worthless description. In the different monasteries upon which they pounced, they set themselves to work, intimidating and persuading the inmates to surrender their establishments to the King; and in many cases their efforts were successful. They collected by every means, foul or fair, a body of evidence against the houses which they visited. They carried off from them great quantities of treasure for the King's use, a fact sufficiently significant of one of the motives of their mission. On their return from their visitation, the evidence which they had accumulated was embodied in a "Black Book," which was laid before Parliament. This book no longer exists, but some of the letters of these visitors, reporting their proceedings to Cromwell, have come down to us, and if all the evidence these persons collected were true, it undoubtedly (to judge by their letters and by other remaining documents of the time) must have represented a terrible state of degeneracy, corruption, and wickedness among these establishments; though in a very few cases the visitors made favourable exceptions. Not much credit, however, is to be attached to the reports of persons of so little character as these visitors; especially as they were, in fact, only carrying out a foregone conclusion, and, so far from exhibiting any sort of judicial deliberation or impartiality, were judging parties who had already been condemned. They knew the purpose for which they were employed, and were zealous to forward the wishes of their employers. But whatever may be thought of the possible veracity of their reports, the Parliament, always subservient to the wishes of the King, immediately on the receipt of their report, passed an act in 1536, ordaining the dissolution of all monasteries with an income of £200 a year or less, and with no more than twelve inmates. It should be added, in order to explain the conduct of the Houses of Parliament in passing this act, that a perpetual immunity from taxation was held out to them as an inducement to their concurrence in the measure. It is to observed that this act, expressly excepting the *greater* monasteries from its operation, bore witness to the good order and discipline which was maintained among them. This favourable testimony was doubtless given with the mere view of allaying or lulling the fears which the members of those institutions might entertain for their own security.

Now, however, the work of suppression and destruction went on rapidly with the smaller monasteries: their treasures were seized to the King's use, the buildings dismantled, the bells, lead, and materials sold; the lands either retained by the King, to whom the Act of Parliament gave them, or granted by him to favourites, or sold at easy rates.

Here Henry paused for awhile in the work of destruction, though there is good reason to believe that, in spite of his declarations to the contrary, the suppression of *all* the monasteries in the kingdom, great as well as small, was even now designed.

Meantime, however, in consequence of the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the very scandalous and profane manner in which the visitors and their followers executed the measure, two insurrections broke out successively in the North, where it appears that the monastic system was more deeply rooted than elsewhere in the affections of the people. First, there was the Lincolnshire insurrection late in the year 1536, and immediately after it the more formidable, because more extensive and better organized, revolt in Yorkshire and the neighbouring counties, which was called "The Pilgrimage of Grace."

This latter insurrection was nearly successful; the throne of Henry VIII. fairly rocked under him, and it was only by policy and artifice that the insurgents were induced to separate, and lay down their arms. It was found in the course of this rebellion that the insurgents had been liberally supplied with money, of which much had been contributed by some of the still existing monasteries.

This discovery seems to have impelled Henry to the immediate destruction of them all. That furious and vindictive monarch, who "spared none in his wrath," and never forgave any who had offended him, would not be likely to overlook the offence of those who had aided in an insurrection by which his throne was imperilled. Accordingly, it is to the aid which some of the greater monasteries had given to the risings in the North, that the resolution of Henry VIII. to destroy those establishments is generally ascribed. However this may be, certain it is, that in the same year that the Pilgrimage of Grace had been dispersed (1537), the visitors were set in motion against those monasteries.

Everything was done to rake up scandals and charges against them; accusations were welcomed from hostile and discreditable parties; many of the monks themselves were intimidated or persuaded into accusing themselves or their brethren or their superiors of crimes or misdemeanors; and promises, as well as threats, were unsparingly held out to induce the convents to surrender their monasteries into the king's hands. If the abbots or priors held out, the plan pursued, in some cases, was to *displace them*, and force the convents, by intimidation, to elect superiors who would consent to make the surrender. In at least three cases the resisting abbots were actually got out of the way by hanging them on charges trumped up against them for the occasion. The three to whom I refer were the Abbots of Glastonbury, of Reading, and of Colchester. The case of Richard Whiting, the last Abbot of Glastonbury, was a peculiarly cruel one; and the injustice of his fate has been of late years confirmed by the discovery of Cromwell's own memorandum-book, containing the following significant entry:—"Item, to take order for the trial *and* execution of the Abbot of Glaston"! These and other abbots felt that they had no right to give up foundations which they had sworn to maintain, and which had been devoted to religious and charitable purposes; and they knew that the law was on their side, as their property had been secured by various Acts of Parliament and royal charters, while no Act of Parliament had been passed to compel the surrender. It may be asked, why was it thought necessary to obtain their consent to their own undoing, to extort from them the signature of deeds, by which they should give up their possessions? It should be observed, first, that the tyranny of the Tudors was almost always exercised under the forms of law; and in the next place, in order to sell the properties of these abbeys in a legal manner, and to furnish what the lawyers term a *title* to these properties, it would be necessary to show that they had been *surrendered* in a kind of legal form to the king, else it would be feared that these properties could not be sold, or, if sold, not sold for anything like their value. And lastly, if the apparent assent of these abbots and others could be adduced, the transactions would have a fairer appearance in the eyes of the world, which would not always know, or care to inquire, in what manner this assent was obtained. Thus went on the suppression of the greater monasteries. Those heads of them who refused to surrender by deed being either turned out, or put to death on charges invented for the occasion; for it was one of the iniquities of that age that the Crown could *always obtain a verdict against persons whom it wished to destroy.*

In the year 1539 (about two years after the attack on the greater monasteries had begun), the king obtained an Act legalizing the surrenders that had up to that time been made, and all others that might be made after the passing of the Act. In about another year after this every monastery in England had been suppressed.

The whole number of the monasteries, great and small, is reckoned at nearly nine hundred. The superiors of them, abbots, priors, etc., were pensioned off, or had preferments given them, more or less liberally according to the willingness with which they had consented to the surrender of their houses. The monks in general had a pension of a trifling amount allotted them, but it is very doubtful whether the pittance was regularly paid to them.

An enormous quantity of gold and silver, in money and plate, of jewels and other valuable property, was confiscated to the king's use, the noble fabrics dismantled, and either partially or wholly pulled down, the materials sold, and the lands parcelled out to greedy courtiers and favourites, or sold or retained by the king. The tithes of parishes, which to a large extent had been appropriated by the monasteries, shared the fate of their other property, instead of being restored, as they clearly ought to have been, to the parishes to which they belonged. Hence the extreme poverty of many livings. Even to the present day those tithes, originally seized by Henry VIII., and given or sold away by him, are in the hands of laymen, who are termed in law, "*lay impropriators.*" For instance, the Russells, Dukes of Bedford, lineal descendants of a Russell of Henry VIII.'s Court, are at the present moment owners of the great tithes of thirty parishes, as well as of a considerable portion of the estates which had belonged to these houses. Many other noble families shared in the spoil, including the Cavendishes, the Cliffords, and the Seymours, and quite a new race of gentry sprang up on the numerous estates carved out of the monastic property. This dispersion of the spoils of the monastic property was, to a great extent, prompted by prudential considerations; the lands were given away, or sold at low prices to the nobility and gentry, with the view of allaying the discontent which these violent proceedings might create, and of gaining over a powerful party to the side of the Government. For this great and sudden change, and these wholesale confiscations, shook society to its very basis, and for a short time seemed to endanger the whole existing order of things. Even the landowners had been interested in the preservation of the monasteries, as these were establishments in which younger sons and poor relations often found a maintenance, and upon which the descendants of founders and benefactors were, in many cases, privileged to pension* off decayed serving men. The poor, too, were even more interested in them, as they had derived from them a never-failing stream of alms, and other charitable aids.

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* These pensions were called "corrodies."

Hence, under Cromwell's advice, the king adopted the politic method of giving away, and, to a still greater extent, of selling, at easy prices, the abbey-lands and tithes to the nobility and gentry, in order that by these means the leading men all over England might be pledged to an approval of the measure, and be "tied by the tooth." The whole transaction of the suppression of the monasteries in England is, for violence, craft, and rapacity, one of the darkest passages in our national history. It was carried out by an arbitrary tyrant under the advice of an unscrupulous politician, who cared nothing for the means by which he compassed his end, and who, on account of this ruthless transaction, received the appellation of "malleus monachorum," "the hammer of the monks."

Such was the *manner* in which this sweeping measure was carried out; but when the convulsion had subsided, and the immediate evils had passed away, when things had begun to flow peaceably in new channels, we may believe that under the working of that Providence who brings good out of evil, the *ultimate* results of it were, upon the whole, decidedly beneficial. The monastic system was apparently one which did so great violence to nature, was so contrary to the general order of society, and was founded on so overstrained a sentiment of religious zeal and devotion, that after the first fervour of the institution had died out, it could hardly help degenerating and declining in practice, and becoming lax and corrupt. We may, therefore, be glad that it was brought to an end, though of the badness of the means with which that end was put to it, one can hardly speak in terms sufficiently strong; nor can any justification be made for the rapacity of those who shared in the plunder of the *property* which had belonged to the monastic establishments, property which had been devoted to pious and charitable uses, and which, if taken from its then holders, ought to have been applied to such uses, though in a different form.

Promises, indeed, had been held out that the property of the monasteries should be so applied; and Cranmer and others had hoped that from it endowments would have been formed for the education of the clergy, and for other good purposes tending to the promotion of Christian knowledge and piety. But so lavishly had this property been thrown away, that in a short time little remained for any such purposes; and five new bishoprics (Oxford, Peterborough, Westminster, Bristol, and Chester) were the only result of a magnificent plan which the king appears to have projected for endowing the Church from the spoils of the monasteries.

I have said nothing expressly about the *nunneries*, which were, of course, included in the general swoop of the Tudor eagle, and made no more resistance than a flock of pigeons would offer to the king of birds.

These helpless women were pitilessly turned adrift on the world, with even a more miserable pittance of compensation than that which was given to the monks.

NOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

Though the great majority of the heads of the religious houses succumbed without resistance, and surrendered their monasteries to the demands of the visitors, from fear of the consequences of a refusal, and sometimes with the view of gaining the advantages held out as the rewards of speedy submission; yet among them there were some upright and conscientious men, who, feeling that they had no right to surrender establishments which they had sworn to maintain, and of which they were only trustees, strongly demurred to the requirements thus made upon them.

Of these, some, as we have seen, paid for their refusal with their lives. Others were turned out to make way for more compliant successors. Considerable numbers were imprisoned, and of these many died in the loathsome and crowded receptacles to which they were consigned, while not a few resigned indeed their houses, but resigned them with great misgivings and heavy hearts.

Of these last we have a lively example from the pen of one of them. A certain prior of Hinton Abbey (in Somersetshire) writes to his brother that it "was not his to give, being dedicated to Almighty God for services to be done to his honour continually, with many good deeds of daily charity to Christian neighbours." These sad and simple words, no doubt, expressed a very common feeling among those who were placed in the same distressing position, in which their sense of duty pointed one way, and their fears in another, and who had neither the courage which would have prompted a refusal, nor the moral laxity which would have enabled them to comply without reluctance.

Sincere and pure-minded promoters of the Reformation were desirous that the property of these houses should be applied to religious purposes. Thus the honest Latimer openly rebuked the king for having converted a number of monasteries into stables, conceiving it to be a monstrous thing that "abbeys which were ordained for the comfort of the poor" should be kept for the king's horses. He also proposed that a few of the greater abbeys should be left for pious and charitable uses. For the Priory of Malvern especially he interceded with great earnestness, not that it should stand in monkery, but so as to be converted to "preaching, study, and prayer;" and then he adds, in a letter to Cromwell, fruitless indeed as the event proved that letter to have been, "Alas! my good Lord, shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such remedy."

Cranmer was for considering the monastic property as still a sacred treasure, to be applied to sacred ends, and was desirous to see new and better foundations arise from it; houses attached to all the cathedrals, to serve as colleges for educating the clergy of the diocese in religion and learning, an addition made to the incomes of the poorer clergy, and the number of sees increased.

But greedy and sacrilegious rapacity had its way, and left very little opportunity for converting the property of the suppressed monasteries to the purposes which these excellent men, and others like them, had at heart.

The following graphic picture is given by a historian of the Reformation:—

The progress of the Reformation was attended with many and sad excesses: monks and nuns turned out of house and home, pensioned indeed, but (except in the case of superiors, who were treated more leniently) pensioned with a miserable pittance, their dwelling-places, beautiful as many of them were, laid low, that all hope of return might be cut off; their cells surrendered to the bats and owls; their chapels made a portion for foxes, the mosaic pavement torn up, the painted windows dashed in pieces, the bells gambled for, or sold into Russia and other countries; all and utterly dismantled, save where happening to be parish churches also, as was the case at Tewkesbury, Saint Albans, and Malvern and elsewhere, they were rescued, whole or in part, from Henry's harpies, by the petitions or pecuniary contributions of the pious inhabitants; libraries, of which most monasteries contained one, treated by their new possessors with barbaric contempt, some books reserved for their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, some to rub their boots, some sold to the grocers and soap-boilers, and some sent over sea to bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of foreign nations." These were some of the coarser features of those times; howbeit there were many besides. "For the churches of parishes were now often treated with gross irreverence, horses and mules were led through them, they were plundered of their plate by church-wardens and other powerful parishioners, who might argue that, if they spared, others would spoil."

Some of the consequences of the great spoliation of the Church are mentioned by an historian. Education and learning suffered extremely. Many of the monasteries kept schools; these of course were done away. Some of the monasteries had colleges and halls connected with them at Oxford and Cambridge; these were also suppressed. Latimer, speaking in the time of Edward VI., says, "I think there be at this day ten thousand students less than there were within these twenty years."

From the impoverishment of the Church, the quality of the clergy was greatly lowered. In 1544, hardly any fitting men could be found to preach at the famous pulpit at Paul's Cross. The clerical profession no longer held out the same inducement to men of liberal acquirements to enter it. A very considerable proportion of the parishes of England were served by priests utterly ignorant, and often of low habits. The patrons had given their benefices to their menials as wages, to their gardeners, to the keepers of their hawks and hounds. Often their patrons took the whole of the benefices to themselves. There remains a curious memorial presented to the Houses of Parliament shortly after the dissolution of the monasteries, by a certain Henry Brinklow, in which he says that in some parishes "there is no vicar at all, and only an old cast-away monk or friar, which can scarcely say his matins, is hired for twenty or thirty shillings, meat and drink. Yea, in some places, for meat and drink alone, without any wages. I know," he continues, "and not I alone, but twenty thousand men know more than five hundred vicarages and parsonages thus well and gospelly served after the new gospel of England." The lowest mechanics were ordained to the almost worthless benefices, of which the tithes had been seized, and this in a large proportion of cases in populous parishes and towns, where clergy of the highest stamp would be most wanted. Such undoubted facts were among the *immediate* consequences of the spoliation. The mischievous consequences of the seizure of the parochial endowments which the monasteries had appropriated continue to the present day, in the inadequate maintenance which parishes thus despoiled offer to their incumbents.

Another mischievous consequence of the general plunder of the monastic property which has continued to this day is the English system of poor-laws, which are considered, as I think, justly, to be a great bane to the community, especially to the lower classes of it. These laws necessarily diminish the rate of wages, and the means of employing labour. They have tended to degrade the peasantry into paupers. In removing the fear of destitution they remove what Providence has plainly appointed as the chief stimulus to thrift and industry, and as a great motive to good morals and orderly conduct.

You will ask, perhaps, what had the dissolution of monasteries to do with the establishment of our system of poor-laws? Even this. The monasteries supplied a constant stream of almsgiving to the poor, and when that stream was dried up at its sources, the necessity was at length felt to replace it by legal relief. For after a series of severe measures for repressing the beggars, that swarmed over the country *after the dissolution*, had been tried in vain, recourse was had to legal measures for their relief. The first of these measures was passed in the reign of Edward VI., followed by a variety of statutes, ending with that of the 43rd of Elizabeth, which essentially placed these laws on the same footing on which they now stand. It should be added, that the dissolution of the monasteries, besides depriving the poor of their original resources for obtaining alms, turned thousands of monks and friars into beggars instead of dispensers of alms, and sturdy beggars (as the statutes called them) they often were.

The punishments introduced to stop this beggary by the Acts of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI. were a disgrace to the legislature. By them begging was made a crime punishable by flogging for the first offence, by flogging and branding for the second offence, and by death for the third. One statute of Edward VI. authorized the enslavement of a sturdy beggar.

This Act ordained that any person finding a man "loitering without work for three days together," might seize him, take him before a justice, who was to cause him to be branded with the letter V (the initial letter of villain) on the breast, and adjudge him to two years' slavery, to be fed on bread and water, the master being empowered to punish the slave by "beating and chaining at his discretion." This Act is thought to have been chiefly directed against the expelled monks and friars, who were, to a great extent, supported by begging about the country.

Such was Tudor legislation on this point; but its severity proved wholly ineffectual; and recourse was had to the milder but more permanent mischief of poor-laws.

Reformation and Plunder.

Plunder was the great bane and disgrace of the English Reformation. It was carried to a far greater extent than is commonly supposed. Not only was the property of the monastic houses confiscated, but above 2300 *chantries* and *free chapels* were suppressed. This spoliation took place in the reigns of Henry VIII. and

Edward VI. The *chantries* were foundations providing for the perpetual singing of masses for the supposed benefit of the souls of the founders and their families. Sometimes this service was performed in a chapel or aisle of a church, sometimes in a separate building erected for the purpose. The *free chapels* were founded by kings of England, and made exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. Besides these chantries, a great number of colleges and hospitals were at the same time suppressed, and their property seized.

The colleges were associated bodies of secular priests, such as Westminster Abbey and Southwell Minster now are. The *hospitals* were receptacles where poor men were lodged and fed. They had religious services provided for them, and the fact that a good deal of superstition, including prayers for the founders' souls, mingled with these religious services, was made the pretext for suppressing them.

The Act for the dissolution of these chantries, free chapels, colleges, and hospitals, was passed in 1545, the 37th year of Henry VIII., but it was not carried fully into execution in his reign, for, in the first year of his successor, Edward VI., another Act was passed to the same effect; and indeed it appears that in his reign the *principal* part of this spoliation was effected. The colleges of the two Universities thought themselves comprehended under the aforesaid Act of Henry VIII., but that king calmed their fears, and assured them of their safety from confiscation.

Among the main motives which impelled the unscrupulous ministers and courtiers of Edward VI., such as his uncles the two Seymours, the Duke of Northumberland, and others, in a reforming direction, was not only the plea with which Protestantism appeared to supply them for seizing to themselves property dedicated in part to superstitious uses, but also the well-grounded fear that, if Romanism should again prevail, they might be compelled to restore their spoils. Their rapacious proceedings during the reign of Edward VI., had the effect of greatly discrediting the Reformation in the eyes of the people, and are thought to account in great measure for the facility, otherwise not easily to be accounted for, with which the nation, which would probably be disgusted with the conduct of such "Reformers," suffered the restoration of Popery under the reign of Queen Mary.

It should here be mentioned that a small proportion of the spoils of these chantries and other suppressed establishments was applied by Edward VI.'s government to the foundation of the public schools, which still subsist under the name of "Edward the Sixth's Grammar Schools."

But the plunder which has been already detailed was by no means all that attended the great religious change of the 16th century. The plate and other treasures of cathedrals and parish churches were seized in immense quantities. Furthermore, Henry VIII., the ministers and grandees of Edward VI., and Elizabeth herself, wrested an enormous number of manors and estates from the bishoprics and the cathedral bodies. Similar acts of this kind of extortion were practised by Elizabeth, who, for instance, stripped the see of Oxford of *all* the manors which it possessed, and kept the bishopric itself in her hands for a period of twelve years.

I will here give a noted specimen of her doings in the spoliation of bishops' sees.

She had signified to Cox, Bishop of Ely, her pleasure that he should give up to her one of the manors of his see. The bishop hesitated to comply with her requirement. Thereupon Elizabeth wrote to him the following characteristic epistle:—

> "PROUD PRELATE,—Remember what you were before I made you what you are. Give up the manor, or by G— I will unfrock you.
>
> "Yours as you shall behave yourself,
>
> "ELIZABETH."

It may be added that this letter had the effect intended. The spoliation of sees by Elizabeth deterred at least one man of integrity, like the excellent Andrewes, from accepting a bishopric in her reign, lest similar surrenders should be required of him. The plea employed to cover much of the spoliation of the Reformation (that of the chantries, etc.) was, as we have seen, that the property had been applied to superstitious uses. But it was observed that the property itself was not in fault, and might still have been applied to religious uses.

Another plea employed for this purpose, and applicable in the case of the plunder of bishoprics and cathedrals, was, that it was beneficial to the church to ease her of the incumbrance of superfluous wealth! It may be supposed how much this was the real motive; but, if some were too rich in the church, there was assuredly no lack of poor ecclesiastics, amongst whom the excess might have been beneficially distributed.

To the Editor of the Records of Buckinghamshire.

My Dear Sir,—Those readers of the "Records" of our Society, who may have followed me in my "Illustrations of English History," will be interested, I think, by the following remarks which have been made on them in a letter to myself, by the Reader of Legal History in one of our Inns of Court. This gentleman's authority is so high in matters of the kind which I have treated, that I willingly defer to the qualifications and corrections with which he has kindly furnished me in regard to some of my statements on obscure or doubtful points of our early history.

1. In my paper entitled, "The Norman Conquest—how far a Conquest?" the following statement occurs:—"The feudal system was carried out [*i. e.*, after the Conquest] more rigorously and extensively than it had been; yet it had before existed in England." Upon this statement my learned friend observes as follows:—"The better opinion of Hallam and others is that the feudal system did *not* exist in England before the Conquest. Our polity had, no doubt, some features of resemblance, and so has that of Japan, but that is all we can say." Your present correspondent is quite disposed to accept this amendment of his statement, having never himself understood how feudal institutions were compatible with the popular constitution of the Anglo-Saxons.

2. In the paper entitled, "Titles Ancient and Modern Compared," I designated the old Anglo-Saxon head of a shire the E*o*rlderman. My learned critic is right in saying that the word ought to have been "E*a*rlderman." In the same paper I say that "the shire-reeve, sheriff, was the Ealderman's deputy in the government of the

shire." On this statement I am informed by my aforesaid authority that "in many cases the sheriff seems to have acted as the Ealderman's (Alderman's) deputy; but he surely had many other functions to discharge."

3. In the paper on "Ancient Titles of Honour," I give doubtfully the meaning of "man" to the word "baron." My critic implies that there is no doubt that this *is* its true meaning. He says, "The word baron in the sense of man is illustrated by the court-baron of a manor, and the house of peers the court-baron of the king."

4. My learned friend makes an important correction of a statement in the paper on "The Feudal System—Knight-service." I there state that "the probable derivation of the word 'soc' gives an idea of the services in question (*socage*); for 'soc,' in French, means a ploughshare." On this statement my critic observes:—"Hallam, in his notes, wonders that he could ever have supposed socage to have come from soc (ploughshare). Soc means a franchise; a large proportion of England was covered by these socs, and the freemen in them were the *socmanni* of Domesday, being numerous enough to give rise to socage, when tenures were introduced."

5. In the same paper, I express a doubt whether the "villain-in-gross" was or was not identified with the bondmen, or "servi" of Domesday. On this point my new authority thus delivers himself:—"The 'villanus' of Domesday was the 'ceorl.' Below him was the 'nativus' or 'neif,' and it was the tendency of Norman rule to degrade the freemen, whether 'socman' or 'ceorl,' to the condition of the 'neif,' or 'servus.' There is a curious document called Rectitudines singularum personarum (rights of individuals) published with the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes,' worthy of your attention."

6. In the paper on the Constitutions of Clarendon, I speak of "trial by jury" as having, by the 6th of those constitutions, been introduced into processes in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Upon this statement my learned critic observes:—"You are, I think, premature in speaking of trial by jury. This is the first mention of the grand assize, or recognition by twelve men. They spoke from their own knowledge."

7. In my paper on the "Growing Importance of the Towns in Plantagenet Days," I referred to the position of

towns in the Anglo-Saxon Constitution, and made use of a remark, suggested by a competent authority, that "the towns were then so nearly independent, that England in those days has been compared rather to a federation under a common head than to a modern kingdom." Upon this point I am thus addressed by my learned friend, to whose superior judgment I readily defer. "I think," says he, "You greatly exaggerate the importance of the towns in the early English period. The *shires* of England were so far independent as to give the notion of a federation."

My friend, but very impartial and well-informed critic, concludes by referring to the best *sources* of information on the foregoing and similar points; and I have no hesitation in quoting his words for the benefit of your readers:—

"I wonder you do not read Stubbs. His 'Documents' (select charters) is the most useful book ever published of its kind, and his Constitutional History has superseded every work that preceded it for the period which it embraces."

Feeling obliged to my learned correspondent for his observations in correction or modification of some statements in my "Illustrations," I have thought that the publication of them would be instructive and interesting to those who may have read these contributions; and I will accordingly request you to allow this letter to appear in the next number of the RECORDS.

Yours very truly,
J. R. PRETYMAN.

P.S.—I beg to add that these papers were written before the publication of Professor Stubbs's works.

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, HILLESDEN, BUCKS.

BY SIR GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.

It is with special interest and pleasure that I undertake to report on this beautiful Church, of which the Restoration is now happily contemplated: for, while it is one of the most exquisite of the smaller productions of those later days of mediæval architecture to which we owe the Chapel of King's College at Cambridge, Saint George's Chapel at Windsor, and that of Henry VII. at Westminster, it is to myself peculiarly dear, as having been the delight of my youth, and its study having led me to devote my life to the art of which it is so charming an example. Some of the happiest of my early recollections are of the days I spent there, either with my drawing master making sketches of it, or locked up there whole days measuring its details.

Hillesden seems, from an early age, to have belonged to families of distinction. The Giffards, Earls of Buckingham, the Earls of Moreton, the Bolbecs, the Veres, and the Courtenays were its earlier Lords. The first of these families granted its tithes to the little Abbey of Nutley, in the same county, in the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion.

The earliest of the architectural remains in connection with the Church is the Church-yard Cross, which is of the 14th century,—an elegant erection, with an octagonal shaft rising from a bold and well-designed base on three steps, and retaining at its termination a part of a beautiful group of niches, with a fragment of one of the figures which they contained.

After this, the only feature anterior in date to the late period already alluded to is the Tower, a somewhat humble structure, of the earlier days of the perpendicular style, and of a design hardly according with the artistic feeling evinced by the cross already standing hard by, and still less with the beauty of the church a century later to be erected in contact with it.

The Courtenays seem to have held the manor from the 13th century.

The following long story is told in evidence of the piety of one member of this family in these early days; but I confess I am unable to connect it with the history of Hillesden Church, as Lipscumbe seems to do:—

"John de Courtenay had the reputation of singular piety; for returning from beyond sea, there happened so great a tempest in the night, that the mariners expected shipwreck; but he bade them take courage and labour hard one hour more—'For then,' said he, 'will be the time that my monks of Ford do rise, by whose devout prayers we shall be preserved from danger.' One of the company answered—'There would be no hope from them, because they are all asleep'; to which he replied—'Though many sleep, I am sure that many more are awake; and being sensible of this hideous storm, do fervently pray for my deliverance.' The pilot, hearing him thus confident, said—'Are we to regard this frivolous talk? being immediately to perish, confess your sins, and commend yourselves to God by prayers': and not only himself, but every one in the ship being in despair, this John only excepted held up his hands and prayed—'O merciful God, vouchsafe to hear those devout monks now praying for me, and hear my prayer, with theirs, that through thy goodness we may be preserved and brought to our desired port.' And immediately, the tempest ceasing, they were all brought safe to land."

Dr. Lipscumbe supposes the subjects in the east window of the south transept to relate to this, but, as they are legends of St. Nicholas, the utmost we can imagine is, that as the patron saint of seamen, a chapel *may have been* thus early dedicated to him owing to this circumstance.

The Courtenays were deprived of the estate during the Wars of the Roses, but restored to it on the accession of King Henry VII., their supplanter having fallen on Bosworth Field.

Browne Willis informs us, that "The Church was all new-built, except the tower, not long before the Reformation. It being ruinous, a complaint was exhibited at the Visitation against the Abbot and Convent of Nutley, Anno Domini 1493, 8 Henry VII., that Hillesden Chancel and other parts of the Church were very ruinous, and that the Churchyard lay open, and the whole was in great dilapidation, and that the Abbot of Nutley ought to amend it:

which had so good an effect as occasioned it to be new-built in the handsome manner it now is."

I had, before seeing this statement, hazarded the conjecture that the Church had been rebuilt by the Courtenays, as a sort of thank-offering on the restoration of their estates; and, though this could not have been literally the case, I still fancy that it may have been so in part, as it seems difficult to suppose that the parties who had left the Church in such a state of dilapidation and neglect, would have rebuilt it in a style of such exceptional magnificence, unless aided or influenced by others.

The planning, too, of the north-eastern projection, containing the Vestry, etc., seems to prove that it was designed with special reference to the neighbouring residence of the manorial Lords. Should this surmise have any foundation, nothing could be more appropriate than the way in which the re-constructors set about their work.

Though it is of the latest period of Gothic architecture, and as such would, perhaps, by some ecclesiologists be almost excluded from the pale within which they would limit their admiration, it is carried out in every part with such extreme care, every detail, however simple, is so thoroughly studied, and designed with such exquisite refinement of taste, as not only to defy criticism, but to excite the greater admiration the more closely it is examined.

It is one of those rare churches of which some are to be found here and there of every mediæval period, which bear evident tokens of having been designed and erected under some special and superior influence. It can hardly be said to be remarkable for extreme richness, though here and there some special point might be so described. Its great charm lies in its beautiful grouping, and in the faultless elegance of its detail. There is not a moulding, a corbel, a battlement, a pinnacle, or any other feature, but what bears the impress of the careful and loving study of a first-rate architect. This gives a charm to the minutest detail.

The Church appears at first sight to be very irregular in its plan, which, especially from the north-east, gives it a highly picturesque air. On examination, however, the plan is found to be based on a perfectly symmetrical scheme. Its elementary idea is simply a nave with small transepts, and a chancel; but a chantry chapel being added to the north of the chancel of the same length with it, and of a width equal to the projection of the transept from the chancel, and a further addition being made at the north-east angle of a sacristy of two storeys, with a very large stair turret at its corner, the uniformity of the first scheme is wholly lost when viewed from this direction, and the whole seems to form an irregular and highly picturesque group.

The nave has arcades of three arches, that opening into the transept on either side forming a fourth, but of greater height.

The chancel and the chantry chapel are united by two lofty arches.

The sacristy has an external entrance towards the east, probably serving not only for a priest's door, but also for a private entrance from the mansion to the family chantry. That above has had a doorway, also towards the east, and reached probably from the house by a bridge. Of what date this is I do not know.

This upper sacristy has a series of radiating loopholes into the chantry, which (if open) would command views of the whole interior of the church.

The internal surfaces of the walls of the chancel and chantry are covered with the ornamental stone panelling so characteristic of the period. Each has a pretty piscina, but no sedilia. Below the roof (or ceiling) of the chancel is a long range of figures representing angels in choir, the four easternmost on either side bearing respectively an organ, a guitar, a harp, and a violin, the remainder carrying labels only, as singing.

The arches between the chancel and the chantry are carried by a lofty and elegant column, clustered, of eight shafts, with responds of similar design. The chancel is severed from the nave by a rood-screen, with loft, of the most elegant design and in a high state of preservation. It consists of three arched bays, each subdivided into four lights, with tracery of great beauty. The lower portion has linen panels, over which runs a horizontal transom with an exquisite little frieze of flowing foliage. The projection of the rood-loft on either side is carried by half vaulting, over which is a cornice with rich foliage.

There are no parclose screens to the chantry, nor are there any traces of the side-stalls of either chancel or chantry, though there are short seats against the east side of the rood-screen with linen panelling.

The arcades of the nave are of simple design, the pillars being clustered, of four shafts.

The transept arches are of equal width, but are raised by one-half of the column rising to a higher level than the other.

The clerestory, which extends over the three bays of the proper nave arcade, is of square-headed windows, forming an almost continuous range.

The nave retains its ancient seating almost throughout, though in some parts displaced. They are of simple design, with square ends and the linen panel.

The Church being approached almost wholly from the north, the porch is placed on that side, and in the second bay; but opposite this is a small south doorway, and there is a western entrance through the tower.

The roofs are throughout concealed by plaster ceilings. These were intersected by oak moulded ribs dividing them into panels. The chancel ceiling was only removed a few years back, when it was found that the plastering, which had been laid upon very large laths, formed thick slabs, something like those of the plaster floors common in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. These, curiously enough, had geometrical patterns systematically drawn upon them with compasses, as if to form a guide for painted decoration. These panels still remain in the chantry, having a sort of herring-bone form.

Externally, the two most striking features are the porch and the north-east stair turret, already mentioned.

The former is of tall proportions, and is truly elegant in its design. Its interior has been groined (or is prepared for it) with rich fan groining somewhat like that of the aisles of Henry VII.'s Chapel, as the springers still show.

Over the outer doorway is a most charming niche. The doorway itself is square-headed, with a depressed arch below, and beautifully moulded; it has elegantly carved spandrils. The parapet consists of richly-panelled battlements, of beautiful design, with pinnacles at the angles. The internal wall surfaces are panelled, the space between the internal doorway and the groining being peculiarly elegant. So beautiful a porch is seldom met with in a parish church.

The stair-turret is probably the most beautiful in its termination of any to be found in the kingdom.

It has very elegantly designed battlements from which pinnacles of original and beautiful form rise from the right angles, from the feet of which spring as many flying buttresses, cusped and crocketted, which meeting in the centre, are terminated by a lofty finial. They are strengthened by an octagonal pillar rising from the centre, over the newel of the staircase, which I may mention, internally carries what would be fan vaulting, were it wrought into ribs.

The whole is designed with exquisite feeling, and elegance and softness of detail; which however, may be said of the whole exterior—every buttress, battlement, pinnacle, and moulding being quite a study, of perfect form, though seldom particularly rich.

The windows have evidently been all filled with stained glass of the highest merit. Fragments remain in different parts of the church, but in anything like a perfect form only in the upper part of the east window of the south transept. This was probably the Chapel of St. Nicholas, as the glass consists wholly of the legends of that saint.

The windows of the south aisle contain fragments of large figures, chiefly or wholly of mitred abbots, and are finely treated.

The arched heads of the lights of the east window of the chancel retain the ancient glass, which is of a very peculiar character, consisting of views in outline, on a very light blue ground, of mediæval cities, so accurately drawn that one can recognize the style and age of the building represented.

I am inclined to think the glass German, though clearly made expressly for its place; as for instance, the last-named fragments fit to the depressed cinquefoiled arches, which would not exist in any country but England.

I should have mentioned that the windows have usually depressed or four-centred arches.

The east window is of five lights, divided into three heights by two transoms.

The east window of the chantry and the south windows of the chancel are of four lights, divided into two heights, as are the windows of the transepts.

The lights of the chancel and chantry windows are cinquefoiled, but those of the nave uncusped. The transoms of the nave and chantry are battlemented.

The roofs throughout are of low pitch, the parapets generally have battlements, and those of the chancel and chantry have pinnacles.

The church is of wrought ashlar stonework, both without and within.

During the reign of Henry VIII. the Courtenays again lost the estate; and during the succeeding reign it came into the hands of the Dentons, a family already known in the county.

There is a monument to Thomas Denton* (who died in 1560) and his lady within the altar space. It is of alabaster, and of renaissance character.

There is a somewhat similar monument in Hereford Cathedral, erected during his lifetime to one of the same family (Alexander Denton), and to his wife, who was a member of a family of the name of Willison, of Luggrewas, in that county.

The Denton family seems to have been much distinguished in the county during the 17th and 18th centuries. One of them, Sir Alexander Denton, was besieged by the Parliamentary army, his house burned, and he himself sent to prison, where he died of a broken heart. I remember being told, when a child, that he was taken to a rising ground over against his house to see it burning. Another was killed in battle at Abingdon.

There is a monument in the chancel to Dr. William Denton, "Physician to King Charles I. and II.," who was in attendance on Charles I. and the army in the expedition against the Scots. He died in 1691, at the age of 86.

There is also a good monument, of the more modern kind, to Mr. Justice Denton,† the friend of Browne Willis, to whom some of his antiquarian letters are addressed.

Cole, the antiquary, visited Hillesden in 1735, where he was entertained two days. He describes the house as a good old one, on a beautiful hill, commanding a delightful prospect :—

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* He appears to have been the first of the family who held the estate.

† "One of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, and Chancellor to his Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales." He died in 1739.

"Before it a fine large parterre, below a canal, still lower a very bold terrace, and through the gardens several charming vistas agreeably terminated by knots of trees and windmills, the church large and well-built; but the best thing belonging to the place is its master; to speak of whose humanity, probity, and bounty would be like telling the world that the warmth of the sun produces the fruits of the earth."

This Mr. Justice Denton erected a stately family pew in the north transept, which still remains, and is of great dimensions. It is described as having "finely embroidered cushions, adorned with gold and silver and the armorial bearings of the Dentons, which continued objects of attractive curiosity until the whole became so tarnished and decayed, that Thomas William Coke, Esq. (since Earl of Leicester), disposed of them to a purchaser of articles of vertu in the neighbourhood, previously to the sale of the mansion house of his ancestors, the Dentons." I can well remember the fine old cushioned chairs referred to, as also the chagrin I felt when the estate was sold and the old family mansion pulled down, its curious old furniture having already been sold by auction.

Since that time desolation has reigned triumphantly; but let us hope that things are now looking upwards again.

I think no proprietor has lived there since the childhood of the well-known Mr. Coke, to whom it passed on the failure of the main line.

I remember an old lady there, who said she used to play with him when they both were children: this must have been about 1760. No incumbent had resided for an indefinite length of time, but this deficiency is now at length happily repaired.

The church at the present time is in a deplorable state, and this sad condition has been arrived at, not so much by wilful mutilation, as by neglect and want of timely repairs.

The chancel roof has decayed to such an extent, that its curious ancient plaster ceiling had to be taken down; and the framing of the roof is now upheld by iron straps, attached to a beam stretching across the chancel, and resting on the top of the battlements on each side.

The lead covering is in holes, and during rain the water drops through the ceiling into the sacred edifice.

The roofs of the other portions of the building are nearly as bad, the dilapidation having caused the removal of all the ancient plaster ceilings, except that of the chancel aisle; and the roof over this is in such a bad state, that the removal of the ceiling will be necessary, if repairs cannot soon be carried out.

Portions of the nave roof and the roof of the porch were repaired a few years ago; but nothing more than making them watertight could at that time be attempted.

The roofs I wish to repair thoroughly, and to restore the ancient ceilings throughout.

The walls internally are, fortunately, in a very good state, requiring little more than cleaning.

The seats in the nave, as I mentioned before, are mostly ancient; but some of them are made up of panelled work from other places—perhaps from the chancel seats, and others, again, are modern, of poor character.

The rood-screen, though in a fair state of preservation, needs the addition of a few missing features. There are two short seats in the chancel, occupying the position of return stalls, made up, apparently, of the ancient desk fronts and ends.

The sanctuary is a narrow space, six-and-a-half feet in depth, marked off by a cumbrous rail: within it is a small table nearly square, serving as an altar. The absence of screens to part off the chancel from its aisle, and the great unoccupied space between the return seats and the altar rails, give the eastern part of the church a dreary and unfurnished look. This appearance will be got rid of by the introduction of proper fittings.

The less substantial parts of the fittings have become more or less decayed, or mutilated, and the whole looks hoary from mildew.

The paving of the nave, aisles, and transept is of common brick, very irregular in level, and the tower is not paved, but has a kind of Macadam floor.

The whole of the windows, except those of the clerestory, which were repaired a few years ago, are imperfect, and admit wind and rain.

The doors are of the meanest character. Externally, the walls are generally in a good state, though the exposed features, such as the plinths, strings, and parapets, and some of the mullions, are much weathered and broken away. The parapets are insecure in places, and require partial re-building, and some of the pinnacles have lost their upper portions.

The earth has accumulated next to the walls: this should be removed, and a proper system of drainage provided to protect the foundations.

The open parts in the masonry require pointing, and a few minor repairs are needed to various parts of the building.

I need hardly say, after the above description, that the church is deserving of the most careful restoration, and will well repay any amount of care bestowed upon it. It is the choicest specimen of a village church in the county, and very few in England, of its period and scale, surpass or equal it.

I do trust that it will be made a county and diocesan work, to recover it from its present state of melancholy degradation.

I estimate the cost at from £2,000 to £2,500.

31, *Spring Gardens, London, March*, 1873.

The greater part of the work contemplated by Sir G. G. Scott in the above Report has been admirably carried out, and this beautiful church of All Saints, Hillesden, was re-opened June 16, 1875, by the Lord Bishop of Oxford. The work of restoration has been executed by Messrs. Franklin, of Deddington, at a cost of £2,200, of which £150 has yet to be raised; and there is a further sum of £300 required to finish the whole work. The part remaining unfinished is, the interior of the sacristy of two storeys, the tile-flooring of the body of the Church, the carving of the four pinnacles of the porch, and the exterior of the tower, together with the lectern and litany desks, which have still to be supplied. Sir G. G. Scott has, since the re-opening, ordered the four pinnacles of the porch to be carved at his own cost. He has also given his valuable services and designs gratuitously, and presented the fine ceiling of the porch. Every old feature in the interior has been thoroughly renovated and carefully restored. The door of the north porch has been preserved, as it bears evidence of the civil wars, when the church was besieged by Cromwell, bullets being embedded in it. A very beautiful stained glass memorial window, by Messrs. Burlison and Grylls, of 23, Newman Street, London, has been erected in the south transept, by Mrs. Neyler, of Cheltenham, a native of Hillesden, at the cost of £160. The subjects of the several lights are taken from our Lord's parables; and the work has been executed so as to accord as nearly as possible with that of the S. Nicholas window, which closely adjoins it.

"Judging from the portions remaining in the heads of the lights, most, if not all, of the windows were filled with stained glass. The only figure portions that have not been removed or destroyed, are the tracery in the east window in the chancel, the east window in the south transept, and two heads of bishops or mitred abbots, with the chasuble of a third, on a side window of the south aisle.

Of the tracery of the east window the greater part remains, so that nearly all the figures can be identified. They are, reading from the left, 1. A pope (S. Gregory ?); 2. Blank (S. Jerome ?); 3. S. Peter; 4. S. Paul; 5. S. John Bap.; 6. S. John Evan.; 7. S. George; 8. S. Christopher; 9. A bishop (S. Augustine ?); 10. A bishop (S. Ambrose ?). Nos. 1, 9, and 10 bear no emblems (all the others do), so that the names given are conjectural. No. 2 is gone altogether. The figures in Nos. 1, 2, 9, and 10, it is conjectured, were the four doctors—the missing one (S. Jerome), with his red hat * and cardinal's robes, would be a most conspicuous figure, and, as an emblem of the pomp of the Roman Church, would be very likely to be signalled out for destruction. These figures have coloured robes with white backgrounds, painted to represent niches, and are surmounted by architectural canopies in white and yellow on blue grounds. Canopies of the same kind are also in the south windows

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* The dignity of Cardinal was not created till some centuries after S. Jerome's death; but a *cardinal's hat* is commonly introduced near the Saint or on his head; perhaps in allusion to some duties he may have performed at Rome, similar to those of a cardinal in after years. Of S. Jerome wearing a cardinal's robes I am not able to speak,—R. H.

of the chancel. The lower lights had no canopies, the background being carried up into the heads of the lights, as in the "S. Nicholas" window. These backgrounds still remain in nearly all the lower lights from the springing bar upwards, but there is nothing in them to show what the subjects originally were. The east window of the chantry has similar backgrounds still remaining. The window on the north side of the chantry has the upper portions of canopies, executed in white and yellow on ruby grounds, in the heads of both the upper and lower lights.

"There is very little doubt but that these glass paintings were executed in England in the reign of Henry VII. The character of the heads, and the drawing of the draperies and architecture, is decidedly English. The heads are all executed in white glass; the hair of some is stained yellow. The back of the glass is tinted with a thin wash of enamel colour, resembling China red, on the naked parts of the figures. Parts of the architectural backgrounds are also tinted with the same enamel. This is quite a late practice, and is not met with before the beginning of the sixteenth century.

"The ruby glass is generally rather pale and flat. The blue varies very much, from a pale steel, almost white, to the richest violet. The distant buildings and trees are painted on a moderately full blue background, with yellow stains added in places, to form green. The pot-metal yellow glass is of a fine golden colour. The boat in No. 1 subject of the "S. Nicholas" window, coloured yellow, is particularly noticeable. The tints of purple, pink, and green are throughout very pleasing and harmonious. The architectural parts, except the most distant buildings, are white.

"The east window in the south transept contains eight lights—four above and four below a central transom. The old glass paintings occupy the upper four, and are good examples of the transition period, when the flatness of the "Perpendicular" was giving way to the roundness and pictorial treatment of the "Cinque Cento" style. The date of the execution of the work would be about the same as that of the celebrated glass paintings in Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, viz., 1490."

These remarks on the old windows, with the technical peculiarities of the paintings, have been kindly furnished for these pages by Mr. T. J. Grylls.

In the process of releading the east window in the south transept, Messrs. Burlison and Grylls took very careful tracings of the paintings, which are illustrative of the well-known legends of St. Nicholas. These fac-simile tracings were done in brown and white, for the purpose of being photographed. Several blank places will be observed in the photograph, but these were designedly left so in the tracings, as the original glass had doubtless been broken, and the places filled with other coloured glass.

The eight compartments in the four upper lights have an inscription under each. The inscriptions are:—

1. Cadit puerulus, quem mox sal[va]t nicholaus.
2. Tunc offert cyphum grates pro mun[er]e reddens.
3. multiplicat frugem presul quam nave recepit.
4. que tulerant [fures] bona cogit reddere [sanctus *or* presul].
5. Auro furato barulo [baculo] flagellat amicum.
6. restituit rursus labor [latro] quod sustulit aurum.
7. Strangulat [hìc] demon puerum [fru]menta* ferentem.
8. mortuus ad vitam redijt precibus nicholai.

Translation:—

1. The boy falls [overboard], whom Nicholas presently saves.
2. Then he [the father] offers the cup, giving thanks for the service done to him.
3. The prelate [St. Nicholas] multiplies the grain which he received from the ship.
4. He compels the thieves to return the property which they had taken.
5. He beats his friend [St. Nicholas] with a stick, because the gold has been stolen.
6. The robber restores again the gold which he took away.
7. The demon strangles the boy when bringing him food.
8. The dead returned to life at the prayers of Nicholas.

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* The Rev. R. Holt, Vicar of Hillesden, suggests that this word might be "pulmenta," that which is eaten with bread (pieces of fish or meat).

The festival of St. Nicholas is on the 6th day of December. He was Bishop of Myra, the capital of Lycia, and gave Arius a box on the ear at the Council of Nice. In this high office he became famous for his great piety and zeal. He was a saint in high repute among mariners both in the Roman and Greek Church, and the patron saint of children, especially of schoolboys. No less than three hundred and seventy-two churches are dedicated to him. His legends are numerous. The one which is illustrated by the subjects in panels 1 and 2 runs thus:—

FIRST AND SECOND SUBJECTS.

"A certain man, who was very desirous of having an heir to his estate, vowed that, if his prayer was granted, the first time he took his son to church he would offer a cup of gold on the altar of St. Nicholas. A son was granted, and the father ordered a cup of gold to be prepared; but when it was finished it was so wonderfully beautiful, that he resolved to keep the cup for himself, and caused another of less value to be made for the saint. After some time the man went on a journey to accomplish his vow; and, being on the way, he ordered his little son to bring him water in the golden cup he had appropriated, but, in doing so, the child fell into the water and was drowned. Then the unhappy father lamented himself, and wept and repented of his great sin; and, repairing to the church of St. Nicholas, he offered up the silver cup; but it fell from the altar, and a second and a third time it fell; and while they all looked on astonished, behold! the drowned boy appeared before them, and stood on the steps of the altar, bearing the golden cup in his hand. He related how the good St. Nicholas had preserved him alive, and brought him there. The father, full of gratitude, offered up both the cups, and returned home with his son in joy and thanksgiving."—*Sacred and Legendary Art, Vol. II.*

The first subject shows the boy, cup in hand, falling headlong into the water. The ship, with three sailors pulling ropes and the father sorrowing, is shewn in the background. The second subject represents the father at the altar of St. Nicholas offering the cup, which is seen falling to the ground in front of him. A female, perhaps the mother, kneels by his side, while the boy, holding the golden cup, stands behind.

Mr. T. J. Grylls has kindly offered his opinion on these two subjects, and says—

"They are apparently by a different hand to any of the others. The execution is much finer and altogether more artistic. This will be noticed more particularly in the finish of the heads by comparing the kneeling figures and figure of St. Nicholas in the eighth subject with the very similar ones, as regards attitude, etc., in the second. The finish of the subject in the head of the light, with the flat overhanging canopy, is cleverly designed."

The legend which is illustrated by the subject in the third panel is, "The relief of the famine at Myra."

"The city and province were desolated by a dreadful famine, and Nicholas was told that certain ships laden with wheat had arrived in the port of Myra. He went, therefore, and required of the captains of these vessels that they should give him out of each a hundred hogsheads of wheat for the relief of the people: but they answered, 'We dare not do this thing, for the wheat was measured at Alexandria, and we must deliver it into the granary of the Emperor.' And St. Nicholas said, 'Do as I order you, for it shall come to pass, by the grace of God, that, when you discharge your cargo, there shall be no diminution.' So the men believed him, and when they arrived at Constantinople, they found exactly the same quantity that they received at Alexandria. In the meantime St. Nicholas distributed the corn to the people, according to their wants, and it was miraculously multiplied in his hands, so that they had not only enough to eat, but sufficient to sow their lands in the following year."—*Sacred and Legendary Art, Vol. II.*

There is a difficulty with regard to this third subject, that the principal figure has no nimbus, and is not in episcopal robes. At first glance it seems doubtful whether it is intended for St. Nicholas at all.

But it will be noticed that this is the only subject which represents an actual incident in the life of the saint. All the others are miracles occurring after his death and connected with *images* of St. Nicholas. These show the canonized saint nimbed and in full ecclesiastical costume, with cope, mitre, and pastoral staff; but

Nicholas the bishop wears the every-day costume of an ecclesiastic at the date of execution of the window. Such distinctions in mediæval glass paintings are most unusual. Kings are represented crowned and in full regal costume, on occasions when it is most improbable that they were so attired; and in the same way bishops are shown almost invariably wearing the full ecclesiastical vestments, which were only worn during service in the church.

FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH SUBJECTS.

"A certain Jew of Calabria, hearing of the great miracles performed by St. Nicholas, stole his image out of a church, and placed it in his house. When he went out, he left under the care of the saint all his goods and treasures, threatening him (like an irreverent pagan as he was), that if he did not keep good watch he would chastise him. On a certain day the Jew went out, and the robbers came and carried off all his treasures. When the Jew returned he reproached St. Nicholas, and beat the sacred image and hacked it cruelly. The same night St. Nicholas appeared to the robbers, all bleeding and mutilated, and commanded them immediately to restore what they had taken. They, being terrified by the vision, repaired to the Jew, and gave up everything. And the Jew, being astonished at this miracle, was baptized, and became a true Christian."—*Sacred and Legendary Art, Vol. II.*

In the fourth panel the Jew is seen going away on the right, the robbers, four in number, in the centre and left are taking away the treasures. The expression of satisfaction on their faces, especially of the upper two, is almost comic. In the fifth there are the two incidents, the beating of the image at the top, and the apparition to the robbers below; and in the sixth the robber restores again the gold which he took away.

The subjects on panels 7 and 8 are from the well-known legend of St. Nicholas, which will be found in Migné's Troisième Encyclopédie Theologique, tome xiv., Dictionnaire des Legends, col. 872. [British Museum Reading-room, press 2013, shelf *d.*]

"Un homme, pour l'amour de son fils, qui apprennait les lettres, célébrait tous les ans la fête de S. Nicholas trés-solennellement. Une fois que le père avait fait préparer le festin et convié bien du monde, le diable vint à la porte en habit de pèlerin et demanda l'aumône: le père commanda à son fils de donner l'aumône au pèlerin. L'enfant sortit de hors . . . . . le diable le prit et l'etrangla. Quand le père apprit cette nouvelle, il . . . se mit . . . . a dire, O! S. Nicholas! Est-ce donc là la récompence de tout l'honneur de ce culte que je vous ai toujours rendu. Au millieu de ces plaintes . . . . . l'enfant ouvrit les yeux, comme s'il s'éveillait après un somme, et il se leva."

Translated:—"A man, for the love of his son, who was a scholar, celebrated every year the feast of St. Nicholas very solemnly. Once, when the father had prepared the feast and invited all the guests, the devil came to the door in the dress of a pilgrim, and asked alms: the father ordered his son to give alms to the pilgrim. The youth went out . . . . the devil took him and strangled him. When the father heard this news, he . . . prostrated himself . . . . and said, Oh, St. Nicholas! is this, then, the reward for the honour and adoration I have always shown you? In the midst of these tears . . . . . the youth opened his eyes, as if he had awoke after a sleep, and rose up."

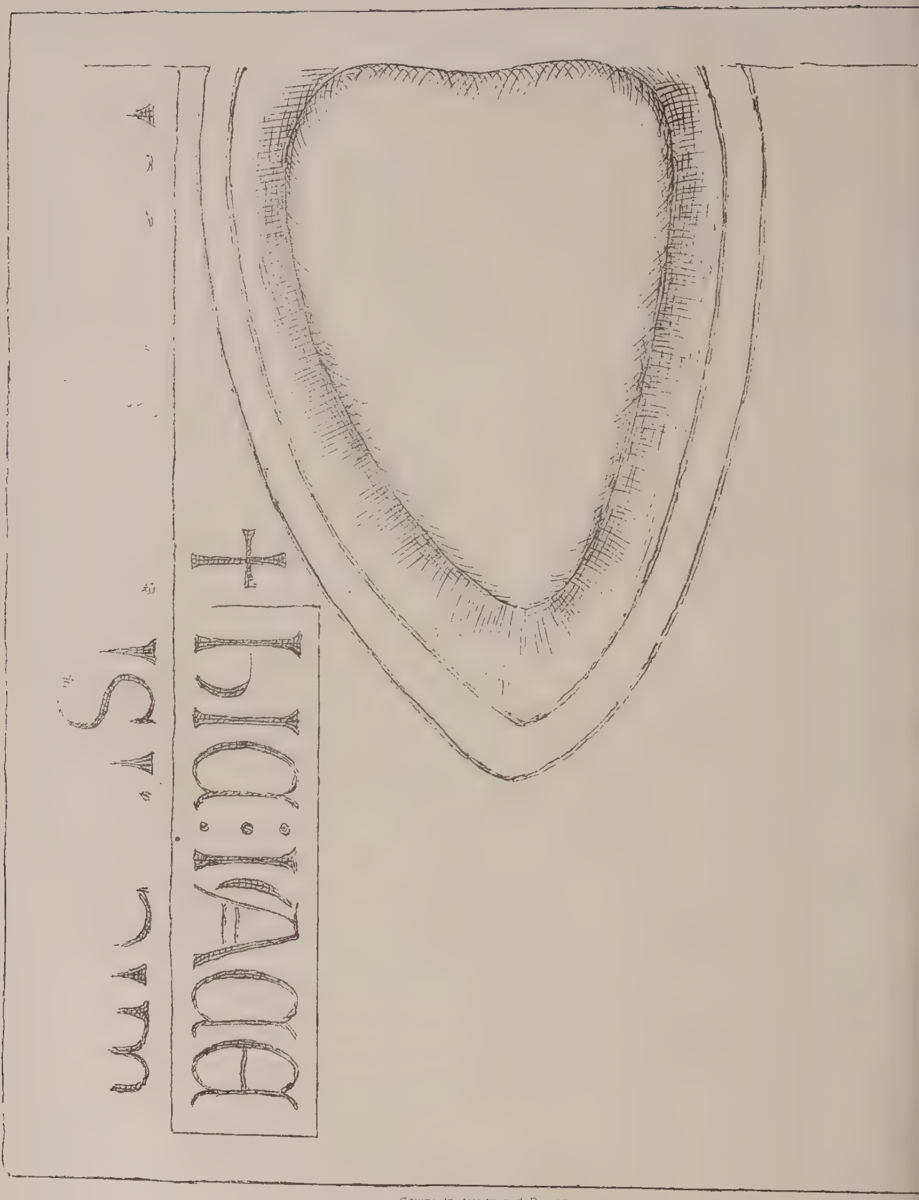
It is very probable that all the lower lights of this window were filled with other miracles or legends of St. Nicholas; for on a scroll remaining in the head of the light immediately under the last subject, "The raising of the dead boy to life," is the following inscription:—

eledgite nicholaū ī episcopū,

which seems to be intended for "Eligite Nicholaum in episcopum" ("Choose Nicholas for bishop"). There appears to have been a word before "eledgite," but its place has been filled with a piece of plain coloured glass.

CHURCH OF ST. MARY, AYLESBURY.

The Rev. J. R. Pretyman, formerly vicar of this parish, has lately placed an elegant stained glass window in the south chapel of Aylesbury Church, to the memory of his son, a young man of much promise, who died at sea about four years ago, to the great grief of his parents. The subject of the window, most appropriately chosen, is "St. Peter going on the water to meet Jesus." It is the work of Messrs. O'Connor and Taylor, the same artists who executed the Ceely and Hatten windows adjoining; and it fully sustains their reputation. This well-known south chapel is now filled with stained glass of great richness; and the effect is much enhanced by the harmony, with variety, produced by the employment of the same artists in the three cases. Mr. Pretyman has added another substantial evidence of the many sympathies which gather round this noble church; and those of the present parishioners of Aylesbury who still remember their former vicar with respectful affection, will be grateful to him for having chosen Aylesbury Church as the receptacle of this beautiful and affecting monument to the memory of his much loved son. Beneath the window is a brass plate, bearing the following inscription:—"In Honorem Dei, necnon in memoriam filii dilectissimi Edvardi Johannis Pretyman, hoc in oppido oriundi, vitreas hasce tabulas pictas, mœrens pater, hujus ecclesiœ olim vicarius, figendas curavit. Qui quum in classe regiâ apud Jamaicum insulam mereret, infelici casu oppressus, quinto post die animam efflavit, spem omnem in Dei charitate positam testatus. Obiit die vigesimo Februarii, anno Salutis MDCCCLXXI, ætatis suæ vigesimo quarto; Sepultus est in Jamaicâ juxta Portum Regium. Vale anima alacris et erecta."



COWELL'S ANASTATIC PRESS.
IPSWICH

Incised Slab to the memory of a heart, found in the Chancel of Newton Purcell Church near Buckingham.
Size. 10 x 8 inches. 2 inches thick.

ON AN INCISED SLAB IN NEWTON-PURCELL CHURCH.

BY MR. EDGAR P. LOFTUS BROCK.

DURING the repairs of Newton-Purcell Church an incised slab to the memory of a heart was discovered, ten inches square, and two inches thick. It had apparently been removed from its original position, and been built up in a niche in the chancel wall.

This curious relic of antiquity indicates a practice of very ancient date. The heart being the centre of affection in man, the offering of a heart naturally formed a touching memorial to a loved one; or, when a man on the point of death noticed how difficult it would be for his body to be laid in some spot held dear to him in life, it is not uncommon to find that request was made for the heart to be transferred to the spot.

The old chronicler Capgrave ("Book of the Illustrious Henries," ed. 1858, p. 179) relates, that, Henry, son of Richard, King of the Romans, being murdered in 1271 in a church at Viterbo, his body was embalmed and brought to England for burial at Hayles Abbey, while his heart was "nobly enshrined at Westminster beside the coffer containing the relics of the blessed Edward." Again (p. 105), Lionel de Clare (dying at Pavia), just before his death, had given commandment to his attendants that his heart and his bones should be conveyed to the Convent of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine at Clare, in England, but that his flesh and entrails should be solemnly interred beside the grave of that distinguished doctor (S. Augustine) at Pavia.

The offering a heart was considered supremely acceptable to the heathen gods. Mr. J. S. Phené, F.S.A., in the "Journal of the Archæological Association," 1873, p. 35, speaks of offerings of this kind to Mexican deities, while a heart is found amongst the sculptured offerings of an altar in Egypt. A bronze heart-shaped object is published by Waring, which has an incision on one side, and is considered by him as an ancient British object of veneration. David speaks of the "offering of a free heart" that he would give to the Lord.

The burial of a heart apart from the body is traceable to a very remote period. Mr. Phené speaks of ancient British urns being found which were the receptacle of hearts, and mentions one in the possession of Professor Rolleston at Oxford; and in an early volume of the "Archæologia," it is stated that a heart-shaped mummified substance was found in a British urn. These examples appear to have been buried beside a larger urn containing burnt bones.

The heart of Robert Bruce lies buried still, most probably, beneath the high altar of ruined Melrose Abbey. It was carried after his death in 1329, by Sir James Douglas, towards the Holy Land, at the request of the dying monarch. After the battle against the Moors in Spain, in which Sir James was slain, the heart of Bruce was found beneath his dead body. The Douglases still bear a human heart imperially crowned, in memory of this dying trust so valiantly defended.

Edward I. being unable to fulfil his promise of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, charged his son, when on his death-bed in 1307, to forward his heart there, with two thousand pounds of silver and an escort of one hundred and forty knights with their attendants. This bequest was never, however, complied with.

It has commonly been supposed that these heart bequests date from the period of the Crusades, and the evidence is certainly in favour of their having become at least usual at this period, but the custom was not confined to any one class. Thus the famous Earl of Mellent and Leicester, Robert, who died at the Abbey of Preaux in 1118—one of the early Crusaders—had his heart preserved in salt at the Hospital at Brackley, while his body was buried at Preaux.

The heart of Ethelmar, Bishop of Winchester, and half brother of Henry III., is buried in Winchester Cathedral, anno 1261. The heart of Isabella, wife of Richard, brother of Henry III., who died at Berkhamstead in 1230, was sent in a silver cup to her brother, then Abbot of Tewkesbury, and was interred before the high altar. Her body was buried at Beaulieu, Hants.*

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* The leaden box containing the heart of Richard Cœur de Lion, which was dug up at Rouen in 1838, was inscribed, "Hia jacet cor Ricardis regis" ("Through Normandy," by K. S. Macquoid).—Ed.

Scotland furnished two other well-known examples of much interest. The heart of John Baliol of Barnard Castle, who died in 1269, was embalmed and enclosed in an ivory casket enamelled with silver, at the desire of his widow Devorgilla. The casket was placed daily on the widow's table, and on her decease it was placed on her bosom. They were thus buried together near the altar of New Abbey in Galloway, which she had founded, and which has since been called Sweet-heart Abbey.

A human heart was found in 1806 below the pavement in the Abbey Church of Culross, and was proved to be that of Lord Edward Bruce, who was killed in a duel in 1613.

The custom prevailed to a late period in England, and the burial of the heart of Sir Robert Peckham is recorded in the church at Denham, in Buckinghamshire. Dying abroad in 1569, his heart was sent to England, but it does not appear to have been interred for seventeen years, there being a record of its interment in the parish Register under the date July 18, 1586.

The monuments still remaining are most interesting, and some of them may be noted briefly and for comparison. There is a brass to the memory of Sir Richard Kerville in St. Mary's, Wiggenhole, Norfolk, in which a human heart is depicted in the centre with four scrolls let into the stone, with legends at the angles. A monument at Chichester Cathedral has an inscription ICI . GIST LE COVER MAUD DE—. This is on an incised slab containing a trefoil; from two of the extremities two human hands support a heart, which hangs from the extremity of the third trefoil—the whole being a very curious and early composition.

The brass of Dame Anne Muston in Saltwood Church, Kent, appears also to indicate the burial of a heart only.

At Bredon Church, Worcestershire, there is a curious heart-shaped slab, from which issue two arms supporting a human heart. This is in a recess beneath a plainly pointed arch and there is no inscription.

At Loddon in Norfolk, and at Elmstead in Essex, there are brasses on which hands are represented issuing from clouds, and these sustain hearts.

At Allhallows, Barking, London, there is a brass dated 1437, to the memory of John and Joanna Bacon, on which is a heart inscribed "Mercy" and enclosed in a scroll. This may not, however, indicate heart-burial.

It may also be noticed that the appearance of a heart on a sepulchral monument does not always justify the belief that a heart only is buried beneath, although this may be most usually the case. At Margate Church there is a curious brass, showing a heart from which issue three inscribed scrolls. There is an inscription beneath, which sets forth that the monument commemorates the death of Master John Smyth, formerly vicar—1433. (See the Oxford Society's Manual, p. cxiv.

There is a heart at Higham Ferrars with the monogram I. H. C. At Martham in Norfolk a heart has inscribed the words, "Post tenebros spero lucem laus deo meo." This is to Robert Alen, and is dated 1487.

Boutell instances other hearts inscribed "Credo quod" or the word "Credo" only; the remainder of the passage being on accompanying scrolls; and also the passage, "I know that my Redeemer liveth," etc., which is not uncommon.

There is a bleeding heart inscribed I. H. C., upheld by two hands, at Lillingstone Dayrell, Bucks, commemorating the burial of John Marston, Rector 1446, and at Hitchen, Herts, there is a punning or rebus heart. The effigy is that of an ecclesiastic named Hart, and above is a wounded and bleeding heart. (Boutell, "Monumental Brasses and Slabs, p. 103." *

The example of Newton-Purcell most probably commemorates a heart burial, and its date is about the middle of the thirteenth century. The inscription "hic jace" does not seem to be an abbreviation.

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* Paul Whitehead, the poet, bequeathed his heart to his patron, Lord Despencer. He died December 30, 1774; and on January 16, 1775, the heart was placed in an urn, and deposited, with a grand ceremony, in the mausoleum at West Wycombe (*Monthly Miscellany*).—Ed.

INSCRIPTION TO THE MEMORY OF A HEART IN THE CHURCH AT WESTERN UNDERWOOD.

The last number of the RECORDS contains, at page 327, a paper by Mr. Edgar P. Loftus Brock, "On a Stone Slab to the Memory of a Heart." Two examples are referred to in our county; and I appended, in a foot note, the burial of Paul Whitehead's heart at West Wycombe. In addition to these examples, I can now refer to another. On a white marble tablet, in the Church at Western Underwood, there is an inscription, amongst others, to the memory of the heart of one of the Throckmorton family, viz.:—"Hic jacet cor Francisci Throckmorton, Armigeri, filii primogeniti Francisci Throckmorton, Equitis et Baronetti, qui obiit Brugis in Belgio 10° die Septembris, Anno Domini 1766. Ætate suæ 16." C. L.

RELIC OF AN ANCIENT MANSION AT CHICHELEY.

BY REV. W. JEUDWINE.

A.D. 1547, Henry VIII. granted to Anthony Cave an estate at Chicheley, which had belonged to Tickford Priory, and on the dissolution of that House, to the College of Christ Church, Oxford. (Patent Roll, 37 Henry VIII., part 17, mem. 8.)

On this estate Anthony Cave built a mansion, of which, I believe, nothing is now known beyond the site; but local tradition reports that the house was in the form of a hollow square.

Some of the foundations may, in a dry summer, be traced on the site, now laid down in grass.

Anthony Cave dying without male issue, 1558, the estate at Chicheley passed, by marriage with his eldest daughter and co-heiress, Judith Cave, to William Chester, Esq., in the time of whose grandson, Sir Anthony Chester, second of that name, 1646, the mansion was outraged, and, it is said, burnt, by Cromwell's soldiers.

About the year 1715, Sir John Chester, grandson of the second Sir Anthony Chester aforesaid, built the present mansion, called Chicheley Hall, which subsequently passed, by will, from the family of Chester (now extinct) to Mr. Charles Bagot, brother of the first Lord Bagot, who assumed the name of Chester, which is borne by his descendants.

In the mansion of 1715, which is in the formal style of that period, and was never completed according to the original design, is a room wainscotted with oak panelling of a date antecedent to the rest of the house, and over the fireplace is a beam, on which is the following inscription (until recently covered by paint): "Cave ne Deum offendas, cave ne proximum lœdas, cave ne tua negligentia familiam deseras, 1550."

This wainscot no doubt formed part of Anthony Cave's mansion, and the date 1550 is probably that of its completion.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, CHESHAM.

MEMORIALS TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE REV. A. F. AYLWARD.

Since the restoration of this church, an account of which has been printed in the Records, Vol. IV., page 24, a mural brass tablet, subscribed for by the poor of the parish, has been placed over the pulpit to the memory of the Rev. A. F. Aylward, who fell a victim to the terrible fever epidemic, while visiting his parishioners and endeavouring to alleviate their distress. Another memorial, of a more costly description, has also been erected by his friends on the north side of the chancel, which consists of a beautiful stained glass window, by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. The subjects represented are, "The healing of the leper," "The raising of Lazarus," "The healing of the blind man," and "The raising of Jairus." The inscription on the glass is, "Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses." "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because He laid down his life for us, and we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren." Underneath this is a mural brass tablet, bearing the following inscription: "To the glory of God, and in dear memory of Adolphus Frederick Aylward, XXV years vicar of this parish, who departed to be with Christ, on the Lord's day, Nov. XII., MDCCCLXXI., aged 50. 'Hereby perceive we the love of God, because He had laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren,' 1 John iii. 16 ver." C. L.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY REV. J. R. PRETYMAN, M.A.

(*Continued from page* 306.)

EFFECTS OF LAY-IMPROPRIATION.

A knowledge of the present order of things in England naturally kindles an interest with regard to our past history; and, indeed, a knowledge of that history is often requisite for understanding the causes and reasons of present circumstances. The past and present stand much in the relation of cause and effect: the past is as the seed, the present is the growing plant; the past is the source from which the broad current of the present flows.

Few events of the past have a more direct bearing upon the circumstances of the present than the Reformation; and among the different transactions connected with the Reformation, the spoliation of ecclesiastical property has had, and still has, an especial influence. I have spoken of the effects of this spoliation as seen to this day in the existence of our system of Poor Laws, and in the impoverishment of many of the benefices of the English Church. I propose now to regard it not only in this latter aspect, but in another important, though less obvious, point of view.

I would, however, first premise a little of the history of the endowment of the parishes of England by tithes. The notion of devoting a tithe, or tenth part of the increase of the earth, to the maintenance of religion, was borrowed immediately from the Law of

Moses; but from various passages in the Scriptures it may be gathered that this proportion of property was customarily devoted to the service of God in times anterior to the Mosaic dispensation.

The history of the endowment of our parishes with tithes was, in a great measure, as follows: The lord of a manor (and manors were usually co-extensive with parishes) voluntarily gave over a tenth of the produce of his land for the perpetual maintenance of a clergyman, who should carry on Divine service in the parish church (which was often built either wholly or in part by the lord), and administer religious instruction and the sacraments, and other offices of religion, to the residents in that manor or parish. Thus the payment of tithes of the produce was made a perpetual charge (as it is termed) upon the land, and the clergyman for the time being was constituted as much the owner of the one-tenth as the lord of the manor, or his representative, was of the remaining nine-tenths.

Tithes came to be divided into great and small tithes. Great tithes consisted of things grown from the earth, as corn, hay, wood; small tithes arose from things nourished by the produce of the earth, as calves, pigs, lambs, chickens, etc. A living to which both great and small tithes are annexed, is called a rectory; a living to which the small tithes only are annexed, is called a vicarage. So much for the origin and nature of parochial tithes.

I proceed now to speak of the step which led to the spoliation committed upon these parochial endowments at the time of the Reformation. It was a practice not uncommon with the monks of a particular abbey to induce the patron of a living, *advocatus ecclesiæ*, to endow the abbey with the great tithes of a parish, the monks engaging to supply a "parson" (such was the legal term), who should perform the duties of the parish instead of the monks, *vice* the monks, who were now put into the position of the rector. Hence the term "*vicarius,*" or "vicar." The monks kept the great tithes, and left the small tithes to the vicar. In some cases the monks induced the patron to let them take all the tithes, great and small, engaging themselves to discharge the ecclesiastical duties of the parish, which in such a case would be within easy distance of the abbey. The proceedings of the monks in possessing themselves of parochial tithes was called in law, the "Appropriation of the tithes."

When the Reformation came, with the suppression of the monasteries in its train, the parochial endowments, which the monks had appropriated, were not restored, as it might have been expected, to the benefices to which they had originally pertained, but were comprehended in the same broad-cast net of alienation which was thrown around all the other possessions of the monastic establishments. The laymen, who then became possessed of those parochial tithes which the monks had formerly appropriated, were termed in law, "Lay-Impropriators," and the owners of the same property receive the same designation at the present day.

In those instances in which the monks had left the small tithes of a parish to a *vicar*, the benefice was not affected by the dissolution of the monasteries, and the vicar for the time being has continued to receive them to the present day. But in those instances in which the monks had appropriated all the tithes, small as well as great, undertaking to discharge the parochial duties themselves, the case was different, and the small as well as the great tithes were seized by the impropriator. They who thus seized the whole endowment of a parish were, indeed, nominally required to make some payment to a clergyman who should perform the duty, and who was to be called the "perpetual curate." Hence, by the way, we see the origin of the three kinds of parochial benefices which we now have in England—rectories, vicarages, and perpetual curacies.

Frequent complaints of the inadequate stipends which the impropriators gave to the "perpetual curates" are on record; and inadequate those stipends continue to be. There is an instance in the neighbourhood of the town of Aylesbury exactly illustrating the condition of parishes where the monks had possessed themselves of all the tithes, and the lay-impropriators have in consequence obtained them.

Between the towns of Aylesbury and Thame, was a monastery called Notley Abbey, of which some remains still exist.

The monks of this abbey had appropriated the great and small tithes of five parishes lying in the neighbourhood of the abbey. The consequence has been that since the dissolution of the religious houses, perpetual curates, with the most trifling stipends, and with no residence-houses, have contrived to serve in a manner these parishes. Hence these "livings" have usually been held by clergymen residing in other parishes, who had some other duty,—either another cure, or who kept a school, etc. One was not long since held by a clergyman who lived at a distance of seven miles, and who was at the same time master of a grammar-school and chaplain to a gaol. Now the case of Notley Abbey and its dependencies applies in a considerable number of instances. Such, then, as I have described it, is lay impropriation—one of the evils which tarnished the glory of the Reformation, and which has continued to the present day, though of late years it has in some degree been remedied. But some good effects have flowed from the practice of lay impropriation, forming a remarkable instance of the good which, under the working of Divine Providence, often flows from evil, and illustrating the saying of Shakespeare,—

> "There is a soul of good in all things evil."

It was observed in the days of the Reformation, that "Papist lands make Protestant landlords," and the saying, with the alteration of two words, would also be applicable to the alienated tithes once in the possession of the monasteries. The impropriators were necessarily pledged to the cause of the Reformation, since the "superstitious uses" to which these tithes had been applied, formed the best plea, such as it was, for the seizure of them. And still more were the lay-impropriators pledged to the maintenance of the Reformation by the apprehensions which they very reasonably entertained that, if Popery were restored, they would be compelled to restore their impropriations. This circumstance, doubtless, tended in no mean degree, to the successful achievement of the Reformation in England; for, by the possession of the alienated tithes, a large proportion of wealthy and influential persons throughout the kingdom—nobles as well as commoners—were interested to add their weight to the Protestant scale of the balance in which the fate of the two religions long trembled in this country.

Nor was this the only effect which the system of lay-impropriation has had on the religious destinies of England, and the fortunes of her church. This very spoliation, as the event proved, went far, on a subsequent occasion, towards preserving the remaining property of the church. In the time of the Great Rebellion, when the sectaries had the predominance, there was a movement towards the total abolition of tithes; but the Roundhead lay-impropriators threw themselves in the way of this movement, and it was chiefly through their opposition that it was arrested in its course. More unlikely things have happened than that the body of lay-impropriators should again be the means of preventing the spoliation of the remaining property of the church, on which in all generations there are people who would gladly make an attack. Indeed, at the stormy period which occurred during and immediately after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, when there was a great fermentation of ideas, and a rage for all kinds of change, demolition, and reconstruction, there was a considerable party, hostile, either on religious or irreligious or political grounds, to the church, who seriously contemplated the confiscation of her property, and openly avowed their design. Now the fact of there being a considerable and influential number of laymen in the country possessed of parochial tithes—amongst them the Duke of Bedford, the head of the powerful family of Russell, the owner of the great tithes of no less than thirty parishes—this fact must have formed a serious obstacle to the accomplishment of these designs of church-plunderers. For it would be almost impossible to draw a distinction in favour of the lay, and to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical, tithe-holder, especially as the latter fulfils the condition of Divine service annexed to tithes, while the former does not. Thus lay-impropriators act as a sort of security to the Church of England for the preservation of her remaining endowments and the stability of her institutions, and form, as it were, a kind of insurance for her material interests.

POLICY OF HENRY VIII.

For a due appreciation of the events of Henry VIII.'s reign, one of the most important in our history, it is requisite to trace out the policy by which Henry himself, the prime mover in those events, was actuated.

For though his conduct was much swayed by the violence of his temper and the caprices of passion, he certainly had a policy of his own, to which, with more or less consistency, he adhered throughout his reign. Being a man of considerable capacity for government, with much cultivation of mind for the age in which he lived, and much power of application to business, he would probably have definite views of his own, and it is evident that he had the force of character and strength of will which would impel him to carry out his views into practice.

He lived, too, in the age of European kingcraft, and had been brought up under a father whose court was a perfect school of that craft. A little attention to the course of Henry's conduct will enable us to discover the line of policy which he followed throughout. The exercise of uncontrolled authority was unquestionably his grand ruling passion; and one of the methods by which he secured it was the practice of balancing one opposite faction of his subjects against the other, allowing now one of these factions and now another to obtain the ascendency, and enjoy a triumph over its rivals.

By thus acting as a kind of arbiter between contending parties, he was able to prevent either party from becoming formidable to himself; nay, he was able to ride roughshod over the heads of both. So embittered were these parties against each other that, if one saw its rival depressed by the tyrannical exercise of royal authority, it heeded not its own liability to the same kind of treatment. We see in his reign two distinct party divisions, the one religious, between Roman Catholics and Protestants; the other political, between the party of the old nobility, the proud, though depressed remnant of the feudal baronage, and the new-raised men, the creatures of Henry VIII., and of his father, the representatives of the then rising middle-class. Among these new men, the Protestants of the court were mostly to be found; while attachment to the old religion generally characterized the party of the ancient aristocracy. It was a fundamental maxim of Tudor policy to keep down the old nobility by intimidation, by exalting new men to power and dignity in the state, and by favouring the middle-class; such, indeed, in the decline of feudal institutions was the general policy of European Governments at this era. Henry VIII. thoroughly adhered to this policy; yet he would leave a certain political importance to the nobility as an element of support and dignity to his crown, and as enabling him, when it suited his purpose, to keep in check the men whom he raised up from the inferior ranks, and to prevent the Protestant and reforming parties from gaining the entire ascendency. We may observe several instances of the manner in which Henry played off the "upstarts" against the old nobility, and the old nobility against the "upstarts." Wolsey was a signal example of the new great men raised up by the Tudors; as such, he was an especial object of the jealousy and hatred of the old grandee party, which he amply requited by overbearing their importance, and treating their persons with contempt.

Henry employed him to destroy, which he willingly did, the Duke of Buckingham, the very chief representative of the old feudal nobility. Afterwards, when the King designed the destruction of Wolsey, we observe that he employed the willing agency of the Duke of Norfolk, and others of that party, to accomplish it.

Then came Thomas Cromwell, another complete specimen of the men whom the Tudors loved to raise from a low position to the highest eminence. Cromwell's influence with the King entirely prevailed against that of the nobility, by whom his exaltation was regarded with the utmost disgust. When Henry had determined upon his ruin, he had only to turn him over to the tender mercies of the old nobility, as well as of the partisans of the Romish interest. Accordingly we observe in the Act of attainder, under which Cromwell was brought, without trial, to the block, that his contempt for the nobility, a plea for his condemnation which evidently emanated from that party, is specified as one of the offences for which he had deserved to suffer death. In this Act, Cromwell is significantly spoken of as "a man of as poor and low degree as few be within this your realm," as "having had your nobles of your realm in great disdain, derision, and detestation, as by express words by him most opprobriously spoken, hath appeared"; and as having declared that "if the lords would handle him so, he would give him such a breakfast as never before was made in England, and that the proudest of them should know"—a striking picture, all this, of the mutual feelings which we may suppose to have been entertained by the two hostile parties, Cromwell and his aristocratic enemies.

I will now turn to the policy of Henry VIII. towards the contending parties of Romanists and Protestants, in which will be apparent his practice of balancing one against the other, and of employing each in turns to prevent the predominance of the other. By throwing off the Papal authority, by the suppression of the monasteries (which was begun in 1535), by authorizing the circulation of the Holy Scriptures (1537), by issuing the Protestant Articles of 1536, and the still more Protestant Bishop's book of 1537, he greatly encouraged the reforming party, and advanced their interest in the nation. But that they might not exceed a certain limit of importance, and that the Romish party might not be entirely and dangerously estranged from his person and government, he came out, in the year 1539, with the persecuting Act of the Six Articles, affirming some of the chief doctrines of the Romish Church.

This Act, passed as it was, after a series of Protestant measures, and while the suppression of the greater monasteries was actually proceeding, and, indeed, in the same session of Parliament with the passing of the Act for legalizing the surrender of them, was plainly intended to give encouragement to the disheartened Romanists, to soften their resentment, and to avoid driving them to extremities. For so long as the adherents of the Romish Church could preserve some of its essential doctrines, they would feel the less concern even at the destruction of its institutions and at the cruelties and severities exercised upon a class of their co-religionists.

After the passing of the Act of the Six Articles, the see-saw policy of the King in religious matters proceeded more actively than ever. Protestants were burnt under the provisions of this Act, while Roman Catholics were hanged, drawn, and quartered for asserting the supremacy of the Pope, or denying that of the King. In the year 1543, another step in return towards Romanism marked the religious policy of the King: but in the same year the Protestants again received some encouragement from him by the passing of an Act in mitigation of the severity of the Act of the Six Articles. In the next year, 1544, he again took a decided step in a Protestant direction, publishing for the first time in this country, a volume of public prayers, including the Litany, in the English language—a volume which is regarded as the forerunner of the Book of Common Prayer. Futhermore, from about this time the persecution of Protestants under the Six Articles Act was almost entirely suspended. Such appears to have been the policy observed by Henry VIII. towards the conflicting parties in his realm. The consideration of it will aid us to understand the reasons of his fluctuating conduct, which would otherwise be almost unaccountable. It may also help us to the solution of a question which naturally arises, how it was that the tyranny of this king was endured by the English nation, although that tyranny was supported by no standing army.

STATE OF PARTIES DURING THE LAST SIX YEARS OF HENRY VIIITH.'S REIGN.

After the execution of Thomas Cromwell, which took place in July 1540, a few months after the last of the abbeys had fallen under his tremendous blows, the King betook himself very much to the advice of the wily Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a decided Romanist, and of the Howards, the Duke of Norfolk, his son, the Earl of Surrey, and their kinsfolk, a family which stood at the head of the old aristocratic interest and of the Romish party in England. But it was observed that Henry never afterwards gave his confidence so much to any one adviser as he had given it to Cromwell, and before Cromwell to Wolsey. There was also a powerful Protestant party at Court, of which the Seymours, to wit, the Earl of Hertford (afterwards the Duke of Somerset) and his brother, Lord Seymour, were the leading members. The two rival factions, now indicated, incessantly contended for the possession of Henry's favour, and for influence in the direction of affairs. About two years before his death, the King began to withdraw his favour from Gardiner and the Howards, and to lean more and more to the Seymours and their party. The Seymours, it should be recollected, were brothers of Jane Seymour, and consequently uncles to Henry's son, afterwards Edward VI. As the health of the King failed, each of the two parties looked forward with eagerness to the possession of the supreme authority during the minority of the young King. The Duke of Norfolk and the Earl Surrey, as we may gather from certain of their expressions, which were afterwards brought up against them at their trial, thought themselves entitled, by their rank and standing in the kingdom, to the prospective regency. On the other hand, the pretensions of the Seymours to the chief government during Edward's minority, were founded upon their kinship with him, which would of course point them out as his natural protectors. To secure their prospect of ruling in his name, they incited Henry, who ever received with readiness accusations against powerful men in his kingdom, to work the destruction of the Howards, who, as the Seymours led him to believe, entertained designs of engrossing after his death a degree of authority which would be dangerous to his son's crown and government. Hence the execution of the Earl of Surrey and the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk. Both of these iniquitous acts took place in January 1547, the month in which Henry VIII. died. By his death the Duke of Norfolk escaped the axe; but he was detained a prisoner in the Tower throughout the reign of Edward VI. by the adverse party which then reigned supreme.

CONDUCT OF THE PARLIAMENT UNDER HENRY VIII.

The following comments are chiefly taken from Lord Brougham's work on the Constitution:—

The Parliament made itself the unresisting instrument of Henry's oppressions. Upon one occasion only can we perceive any disposition to resist him; it was in 1525, when he attempted to levy a tax, and afterwards a benevolence. The following were some of the statutes which the assembly made against all justice. After Henry had thrown off the Papal supremacy, of which he had previously been an ardent upholder, he made it treason to deny his own supremacy, or even to refuse to swear to it. Under this Act, Bishop Fisher, the famous Sir Thomas More, and hundreds of less eminent persons, suffered death. Although a large proportion of the nation believed that Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon was valid, Parliament declared by an Act that his marriage with Anne Boleyn was valid, with the penalty of forfeiture and imprisonment against all who refused to swear to the validity of that marriage, or to the legitamacy of his issue by it, and the penalty of *death* against all who spoke against the legitimacy of that issue. Then when he had put Anne Boleyn to death, the Parliament declared that the marriage with her had been void, and that the issue was illegitimate. Afterwards, in settling the succession to the crown, they empowered him to alter that succession, and thus to expose the nation to the danger of another civil war about a disputed succession. Their full gratification of his rapacity in the matter of the religious houses was in part owing to their servility, in part to their religious zeal. But how great soever may have been the benefit from suppressing the monastic orders, it must be allowed to have been purchased at a high price, when we reflect first on the wholesale confiscation of the property belonging to 900 bodies, beside above 2300 charities and chapelries; next on the scandalous perversion of all justice by which the parties were by thousands condemned to poverty and stigmatized in their reputation, unheard, and with their enemies for their judges; and lastly, on the use made of the spoil thus seized on false pretences. Whatever victims Henry chose to destroy, the Parliament attainted, often without hearing them in their defence.

Thus Cromwell having lost his favour by recommending the marriage with Anne of Cleves, the Parliament attainted him of treason and heresy without any hearing. They did the like by Dr. Barnes and several others whom they burnt for heresy. The Duke of Norfolk, one of Henry's ablest and most faithful ministers, to whose good management he owed the defeat of the formidable insurrections in the North, and, before that, the victory of Flodden, was condemned by Parliament without trial to lose his head, on the most frivolous grounds, at Henry's bidding.

Two other Acts of Parliament in this reign were especially infamous. 1. The King was in 1529 formally released by Act of Parliament from all the debts he had contracted six years before, although his securities had in some cases passed into the hands of third parties by purchase, or otherwise, and this abominable precedent was followed in 1541, with the incredible addition that if any one had been paid his debt, the money was to be refunded by him. 2. The proclamations of the King in Council, if stated to be made under pain of fine and imprisonment, were declared to have the force of law. The King, by proclamation, might make any opinion heretical, and might denounce death against any one who held that opinion. It is truth incredible that Parliament and nation also should have so completely lost all the spirit for which they had once been conspicuous, as to consent to these and other iniquitous enactments. They seem, however, to have been awed by the force of his character and the ferocity of his temper.

It was not till after his death that they recovered courage to repeal some of his worst statutes, in particular those which created a great number of new kinds of treasons to gratify his cruelty and caprice.

THE STAR CHAMBER.

It is important to understand the nature of this Court, as illustrating the government of England under the Plantagenets, and still more under the Tudors and Stuarts. It was a very powerful engine of the royal authority—a great restraint upon the Parliament and the people.

By means of this Court most of the violent acts of the sovereign were performed. By it he was enabled practically to override the Constitution and the laws, as we shall presently explain.

The Court of Star Chamber was a branch of the Privy Council. It derived its name, according to the most probable supposition, from being held in an apartment of the Palace of Westminster, in which were kept certain contracts and obligations of the Jews, called "Starrs," a corruption of the Hebrew word "Shetar," a covenant. It was sometimes called also the King's

Ordinary Council. This Court was originally established in Plantagenet days, in order to control the factions of domineering barons, who were able to defeat the ordinary jurisdictions by over-awing the juries and even the judges.

An Act of Parliament was passed early in the reign of Henry VII. confirming the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber in cases of combinations to obstruct the due administration of justice. And very useful this Court had been in preventing the feudal power from reducing the judicial power to a mere name, wherever great men or their dependants were concerned. But the most grievous abuses arose out of the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber, abuses worse than the malpractices of the barons, which it was intended to check.

By means of this Court the Plantagenets, and still more the Tudors, were enabled to commit to prison or to fine at discretion, those persons against whom they conceived ill-will, thus depriving them of the protection of the common law, and violating the provisions of the Great Charter.

By means of this same Court the Tudors exercised a stringent control over Parliament, and were able to punish those members of it who had offended them. By it they could punish jurors who had given verdicts displeasing to the Court, arresting them, interrogating them, committing them to prison, and releasing them only on the payment of heavy fines.

A capital jurisdiction was not exercised by means of this Court, at least not directly; but it really amounted to the same thing whether the sovereigns sentenced obnoxious men to death by this Court, which they did not, or compelled jurors to find such men guilty through dread of this Court, which they undoubtedly did.

The existence of this Court of Star Chamber accounts for the fact that, as a rule, juries found all those persons guilty whom the Crown prosecuted. Hence the enormous iniquity of the State trials under the Tudor sovereigns. The only recorded case of a jury refusing to find a state prisoner guilty forms an exception that amply proves the rule, and shows the degree of intimidation which the Crown exercised upon juries in a State trial. The case is that of a certain Nicholas Throckmorton, whom the government of Queen Mary wanted to put to death. The jury acquitted him. Observe the way in which this jury was treated, and you will be at no loss to account for the general subserviency of jurors in Tudor times. These jurors were all imprisoned by the Court of Star Chamber. Four of them were released on confessing that they had offended. The others, proving refractory, were fined heavily, some of them in the sum, very large for those days, of £2000! By means also of the Star Chamber, Queen Mary committed to the Tower a member who had opposed her wishes in Parliament.

This Court continued to exercise jurisdiction down to the time of the Long Parliament, when, having become especially odious to the community from the manner in which Charles I., Laud, and his other ministers had used its powers, it was finally abolished.

THE HIGH COMMISSION.

This commission, which was of a judicial kind, was first appointed by Queen Elizabeth under authority of an Act of Parliament, passed in the first year of her reign. The high commission was the engine by which the Queen proposed to enforce her supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. It stood in much the same relation to the Church as that in which the Star Chamber stood to the State. By the Act of Parliament to which I have referred, Elizabeth and her successors were empowered, as often they thought proper, to appoint a commission "to exercise under them all spiritual jurisdiction, and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever," of a spiritual or ecclesiastical nature. This commission whenever it was issued, which was often done by Elizabeth, and her two successors, for it was not a *standing* body, was called the "High Commission," or sometimes "The Court of High Commission." It had very great powers, extending equally over the laity and the clergy. It could expel the clergy from their livings; it had power to excommunicate any person, and excommunication involved various temporal penalties. The High Commission was worked under Elizabeth with excessive severity against both Papists, at whom it was chiefly levelled in the first instance, and against Puritans. But perhaps its oppressions were greatest, and certainly they provoked the greatest degree of odium, when this court was under the direction of Laud and other advisers of Charles I., by whom it was employed with unrelenting activity against the Puritans. Indeed, to the proceedings of this Commission as regards religious matters, as well as to the proceedings of the Star Chamber in State affairs, is chiefly to be ascribed the excessive bitterness of spirit which the Puritan party displayed against Laud and his party in the time of the Great Rebellion.

The "High Commission" was abolished soon after the meeting of the Long Parliament, when the clause in Elizabeth's Act enabling the crown to appoint this commission was repealed.

James II., by virtue of a quibbling distinction which his law officers made in the wording of the above-mentioned clause in Elizabeth's Act, erected a similar Court of High Commission; but this unconstitutional proceeding was one of the causes which led to his downfall; and by a clause in the Bill of Rights (1689), the appointment of any similar commission is expressly prohibited. Although the rigour exercised by the Court of High Commission in the reign of Elizabeth, and her two next successors, was very oppressive, and the powers were a great restraint on the due liberty of the subject, we should remember that its severities were in accordance with the spirit of the age, and that when the Puritans, who had been the chief sufferers from its proceedings, gained the ascendency, they exercised equal severities on the clergy and partisans of the Church of England. How the Romanists would have acted in this respect had they obtained the mastery of their opponents, we may safely conjecture from their previous conduct during the reign of Mary in England, and from their contemporaneous policy towards Protestants in continental kingdoms. In fact, the notion of tolerating difference of opinion in religious matters hardly entered into the minds of men of any party in those days.

THE OLD AND NEW OATHS OF SUPREMACY.

The Oath of Supremacy ordained by Elizabeth in an Act of the first year of her reign was as follows:—

I, A. B., do utterly notify and declare in my conscience that the Queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal, and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faithful and true allegiance to the Queen's highness, her heirs, and lawful successors, to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, privileges, and authorities granted belonging to the Queen's highness, her heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God and the contents of this book."

This oath was required to be taken by every clergyman, every graduate of either University, every member of the House of Commons, every one holding any office under the Crown, every barrister, and a number of other persons. Its effect was to exclude all Papists from all share in the Government, from all official authority and public employment, excepting that the Lords temporal of Parliament were not obliged to take the oath.

It would also exclude from all these privileges a considerable number of Puritans, whose opinions were opposed to the spiritual supremacy of the Crown, and of whom some suffered death for impugning that supremacy. Not only were the functionaries and classes specified in the Act required to take this oath, but by a subsequent Act the Government was empowered to tender it to *any* person, the Lords only excepted. Thus, as it were, a drawn sword was suspended over the head of everyone, even in the most private station, who might in his heart dissent from the oath, and who would have the honesty to refuse it. The penalty for *refusing* this oath was that enacted "by the statute of provision and premunire made in the sixteenth year of King Richard the Second." The nature of this statute has been explained in a former paper of this series.

This Oath of Supremacy continued to be required till the first year of William III., when, by an Act of Parliament, the following Oath of Supremacy was substituted:—

"I, A. B., do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

This is the oath which down to the year 1865 was required, and it was taken by various persons, for example, by members of Parliament, clergymen, and graduates of the three elder Universities; but from this statement are to be excepted the Roman Catholic members of Parliament, to whom a different oath was administered.

The Oath of Allegiance now in use was also finally settled by the same Act of William III. It is very short and simple, and is as follows:—

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria. So help me God."

PERSECUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS UNDER ELIZABETH.

Although Elizabeth, by the Oath of Supremacy which she introduced in the first year of her reign, effectually excluded all her Roman Catholic subjects, peers alone excepted, from all positions of public authority or trust, and even from some of the professions, yet she had no desire at the time to drive matters to extremity with them. On the contrary, it was her aim, in some degree, to conciliate the Romish party. This aim appears from the manner observed under her directions in revising the Book of Common Prayer. In this revision, many passages according with their views were retained. Thus, in the Communion Service, were restored the words used in delivering the bread and the cup, which had been translated from the Roman Catholic Mass-book into the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ," etc., "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ," etc. [See the two sentences in our present Prayer-book.] In the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., these words had been discarded, and for them were substituted the words which in our present Prayer-book follow in each case respectively the words to which I have referred above. Elizabeth's revision *put them both together*, in order to gratify both parties, Romanists and Protestants.

In the Prayer-book as her revision has left it to us, were retained several other passages such as would be acceptable to the Romanists—as the form of Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick; and certain expressions in the Ordination Services, purporting to "give the Holy Ghost,"* and the power of "remitting and retaining sins."

Certain passages, then, were left in Elizabeth's Prayer-book in order to conciliate her Roman Catholic subjects; and some success appears at first to have attended the design. During the first eleven or twelve years of this Queen's reign, they are said to have conformed to the Established Church, to have taken part in its public worship, and neither to have resisted the Queen's government, or to have received molestation from it. But in the twelfth year of her reign (1571), a Bull was put forth by the reigning Pope, Pius V., excommunicating her, pronouncing her deposition, absolving her subjects from their allegiance, and inciting them to deprive her of the crown. The Romanists in England now ceased to conform to the Established Church, and among the more violent of them, that series of plots against Elizabeth's throne and life, began to be laid, which henceforward at intervals troubled her reign almost to its end. These plots, so soon as they began, were met by a fierce policy of mingled self-defence and vindictiveness, on the part of Elizabeth's government. Nothing, as it has been said, is more cruel than fear; and when to this feeling is added the offended pride of sovereignty (and the love of power seems to have been the ruling passion with Elizabeth), the most cruel treatment of defenceless enemies, real or imaginary, may be anticipated. And such, in truth, was the treatment of Papists by Elizabeth's government—a treatment not even justified by the treasonable designs of some of the Romish party. Although some partisans of Rome were ready to dethrone or murder the Queen, yet a large proportion of them were loyal and peaceable subjects of the crown. The very commander of the armament raised to meet the Spanish Armada, Lord Howard of Effingham, was a Romanist. Elizabeth's severities towards Romanists have constantly been urged in recrimination against the charge of Mary's persecution of adherents of the reformed faith. And it must be admitted, notwithstanding the great provocations which Elizabeth received from the Pope and his extreme partizans in England, that her policy towards the Romish portion of her subjects was unjustifiably rigorous. The Romanists enumerate between two and three hundreds of persons who suffered death during Elizabeth's reign for their attachment to their religion.

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* This expression was first introduced into the Ordination offices of the Western Church in the 11th or 12th century.

Undoubtedly the number was great, for the laws were so severe that they could not be obeyed by a sincere Romanist without (in his view) imperilling his salvation, nor disobeyed without incurring the heaviest penalties. Yet it should be remembered that the number of Protestants who suffered death during Mary's reign, which lasted only five years, was at least equal to the number of Romanists who suffered death during the forty-five years of the reign of Elizabeth.

I will now mention the heads of most of the persecuting Acts which were directed by Elizabeth against the Roman Catholics after the Pope had, in 1571, published against her his Bull of excommunication and deposition. By an Act passed in that self-same year, it was declared to be high treason to obtain or put in use any Bull from Rome, or to receive absolution under any Bull, and "premunire" to bring into the realm any crosses, pictures, beads, or "agnus Dei"* from the Pope. Another Act of the same year sought to prevent

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* An "agnus Dei" was a cake of wax, stamped with the figure of a lamb supporting the banner of the cross. It was consecrated by the Pope, and much valued by the people.

Roman Catholics from avoiding the rigour of the English government by fleeing to the Continent, and enacted that any of the Queen's subjects leaving the kingdom without her license, and not returning within six months after proclamation, should lose all their goods and revenues for life. But the severest laws against the Papists and the profession of their religion began with the year 1581. By an Act passed in that year, it was made high treason to attempt the conversion of any one of the Queen's subjects to Romanism; to *hear* Mass was made an offence punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of 100 marks; and the fine which already existed for omitting to attend the worship of the Established Church, was raised to twenty pounds a month! In 1585, another Act was passed ordaining that all Jesuits and other Romish priests whatsoever, and all English subjects who had been educated in any foreign college or seminary of Romish priests, refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, should be adjudged traitors, and suffer death as such; and that death, as for felony, should be the penalty for receiving such Romish priests as, having come from abroad, refused the oath! By this same Act of Parliament, persons sending money abroad to Jesuits or Romish priests, were rendered subject to the penalty of "premunire"; and all parents were prohibited from sending their children abroad, without the Queen's license, under a penalty of £100. This last prohibition was intended to prevent Roman Catholic parents from having their children educated by Romish priests, which could hardly be done in England.

In 1593 came out another Act, forbidding all Romanists who had been convicted of refusing to attend their parish church, from going *five miles* beyond their usual dwelling-place without written licence either from the bishop of the diocese or the deputy-lieutenants of the county, on pain of forfeiting their goods and the revenues of their lands for life. Those who violated this statute, and had not goods or lands of the yearly value of twenty marks, were to leave the kingdom, on pain of suffering death as felons.

The severity of these Acts is apparent at first sight; but it will be still clearer if we consider that to call upon a Romish priest to take the Oath of Supremacy, and so deny the Pope's spiritual and ecclesiastical power in England, would be tantamount to requiring him to abjure his religion, and be like requiring a Mahometan to forswear Mahomet; that to prohibit Romanists from hearing the Mass was to prohibit them from doing what they deemed essential to their salvation; and that to require them to attend the services of the Established Church was to require them to join in what they believed to be the worship of heretics. Like all cruel enactments, these laws were impolitic as well as cruel, for they exasperated the Romanists, and produced constant plots and suspicions of plots against the throne and life of the Queen, whereby the minds of the people were kept in a state of disquietude and alarm.

These Acts were carried out with varying degrees of severity at different times in the reign of Elizabeth, and in the reigns of her successors. They were, however, to a great extent evaded; and doubtless the administrators and officers of the law connived much at the violation of them. Otherwise, all the consistent Romanists of England would have been either brought to the scaffold, exiled, or reduced to beggary. A considerable number of Roman Catholic proprietors of land continued to exist, especially in Lancashire and other northern counties; and in their houses a priest's hiding chamber, ingeniously concealed, was a frequent device, which in some instances may be seen at the present day. Such chambers are striking memorials of the persecutions which the professors of the Romish faith suffered in former days, especially in the days of Elizabeth. Of the severity of the pecuniary persecutions exercised against the Romanists in this queen's reign, some idea may be formed from the fact that the fines of "Popish recusants,"—that is of Romanists refusing to attend the services of the Established Church, together with the occasional confiscation of the estates and chattels of Romanist proprietors, formed an item in the crown revenues of that time, tending considerably to gratify Elizabeth's proud desire to be independent of Parliament in the matter of supplies for the support of her crown and dignity.

ONE YEAR OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION UNDER ELIZABETH.

In the year 1588 (the year of the Armada), a deist was burnt at Norwich. He was the fourth who had suffered in the same place within five years, for promulgating erroneous opinions.

In this same year of 1588, six Romish priests were hanged, drawn, and quartered, four laymen of the same faith (who, having embraced the Reformed faith, had returned to their former persuasion), four others, and a gentleman named Ward, for concealing Romish priests in their houses; and at the same time fifteen other men for no other offence than the profession of the Romish faith.

Thus in one year of Elizabeth's reign thirty-one persons suffered death on religious accounts.

PRIVY-SEAL LOANS UNDER THE TUDORS. A METHOD OF ARBITRARY TAXATION.

The Tudor sovereigns may be said to have been expert in exercising arbitrary power without violation of the *forms* of law.

They evaded the *intention* of the law and broke it in the *spirit*, while they kept for the most part to the letter.

One instance of this method is seen in the practice which they followed of borrowing what were termed "Privy-seal loans," a practice worthy of note, as illustrating their policy, and showing the extent to which the fortunes of private persons were at the mercy of those sovereigns. When a man was known to have amassed a considerable sum of ready money, the ministers would send to a magistrate of the district in which he lived a paper sealed with the royal Privy-seal, signifying the sovereign's desire to become the moneyed man's debtor to whatever amount might be specified in the particular instance. No security beyond the good faith of the sovereign was given for the payment of the debt, and in case of his death before the payment was made, the liquidation of the debt was left to the honour of his successor. The unpaid Privy debts of Queen Mary lay, it is said, heavily on her conscience when she was on her death-bed.

The expedient of Privy-seal loans was first resorted to by Henry VIII., under Wolsey's advice. It was a most oppressive proceeding, for scarcely anyone would venture to refuse the loan, however reluctant he might be to grant it. If he refused, he would render himself liable to accusation on some other ground, or to be employed on some distasteful service; for it was an acknowledged maxim of those days that the Crown might employ any of its subjects on any service that it might think fit. One instance indeed occurred of such a refusal, and the manner in which the refusal was requited shows the practical necessity under which an individual lay of complying with a demand of this kind. An alderman of the city of London declined to lend Henry VIII. a sum of money under a Privy-seal. The alderman, who was of a very corpulent person, was forthwith ordered to march as a foot soldier in an expedition which was then going forward against Scotland. A striking specimen of the operation of this practice of Privy-seal loans in the days of Elizabeth is upon record. A Privy-seal paper had been sent down to a magistrate in Staffordshire to require an unfortunate man, impoverished with law-suits, to lend a sum of money to the Queen. The magistrate writes back to the Queen's minister to say as thus: "Truly, my lord, a man that wanteth ability to buy a nag to follow his own causes in law to London, pity it were to load *him* with any loan to her Majesty." The compassionate magistrate then goes on to suggest that the imposition of this "loan" should be transferred to another man in the neighbourhood, "an usurer by occupation, without wife or charge, and worth £1000. Truly," adds the magistrate, "it were a *charitable deed* in your Lordship to impose the Privy-seal on *him*."

This incident gives a good notion of the private system of extortion carried on by the Crown without apparent violation of the law.

KING-CRAFT IN THE TUDOR AGE.

The period at which the Tudor family came to the throne, was the flourishing age of king-craft—the art of governing states and gaining political objects rather by artifice and cunning, than by open means or violence.

In its code of morals, the dictates of present expediency took precedence of the principles of truth, justice, and mercy.

Reasons of state were thought a sufficient plea for an act of injustice or cruelty, such as the decapitation of the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, by Henry VII., and the detention of Mary, Queen of Scots, by Elizabeth.

King-craft was devoid of all faith in the ultimate expediency of rectitude in the conduct of public affairs. Its only plea was that its ends were those of the public good, and it *assumed* what the Jesuits are accused of *maintaining*, that "the end justifies the means." But even this plea was not always tenable, for the ends which it aimed at were often those of the personal aggrandizement of the ruler.

In Louis XI. of France, who died just before the accession of the House of Tudor; in Henry VII. of England; in his astute contemporary, Ferdinand of Arragon; in Charles V. of Spain and Austria, contemporary with Henry VIII.; and in Philip II. of Spain, we have eminent examples of this kind of policy.

It took its rise in Italy, where the petty tyrants of principalities and the rulers of republics carried out to the full the maxims of an unscrupulous, crooked, and overreaching statesmanship; and where it was reduced to a system in a book entitled "The Prince," written by a Florentine statesman of the fifteenth century, named Machiavelli, from whom all these arts of government receive their name of "Machiavellian." Secrecy, dissimulation, indirectness of aim, fair pretexts for foul proceedings, the violation of engagements to suit present purposes, ambiguous language and prevarication, and even, when thought necessary, downright falsehood, an observance, whenever possible, of the forms of law and justice while the spirit of them was disregarded, a steady though covert aiming at arbitrary rule,—such were the features of that detestable method of policy, called king-craft, or state-craft.

It flourished among us during the period of transition from the fall of feudalism to the rise of the middle classes to importance and the establishment of constitutional government, when state-craft ceased to be practicable. It was the error of James I., and in some degree of

Charles I. also, to suppose that the maxims of state-craft were compatible with the altered spirit of their times and the altered relations of the sovereign with his subjects.

CHARACTERS OF TUDOR AND STUART KINGS.

Lord Brougham, comparing Henry VII. with his son and successor, speaks of the "severe character of the former," and "the violent temper of the latter;" of "the avarice and reserve" of Henry VII., and of "the more careless expenditure of money, the more frank indiscreet habits, and more accessible manner of Henry VIII., partaking, in outward show, of generosity, honesty, even kindness, which gave him, especially during the first half of his reign, a popularity which his father never possessed." The father was cold, and devoid of impulse, the son violent and swayed by passion. Both were arbitrary in their aims and unscrupulous in their methods. Both were disciples of king-craft. Both were devoid of all finer and softer feelings, and of the qualities of heart and manner which are associated in our minds with the term "gentleman," in which respect they form a contrast with many of their predecessors, the Plantagenet kings, and with some of their successors, the Stuarts.

Both Henry VII. and Henry VIII. were strangely deficient in the "quality of pity," a defect to be observed in the character of all the Tudor sovereigns. Elizabeth had undoubtedly great talents for command, which had been improved in what has been termed "the school of prince's *adversity*." She was a great, but a selfish sovereign, and while she had a certain love for her people, and aimed much at their good, her affection and her interest in their welfare were primarily dictated by the consideration that they were her *own*.

Lord Brougham speaks of the "dread" by which Elizabeth "kept down the House of Commons while she was in the vigour of her faculties and the height of her pride;" and he notices that the House became more bold in their conduct towards her "when her energy became impaired by the melancholy that clouded her latter days." He goes on to speak of the feeble mind and the contemptible manners of James I., and observes that the Parliament showed that they aware of the change from Elizabeth's character on the morrow of their meeting under the new sovereign. In short, the absolute power which the Tudors exercised, was as much owing to *their own personal qualities*, as to the advantageous circumstances of their position.

James I. was devoid both of moral and of physical courage; vain of his learning, which was indeed considerable for the age, and pedantic in the display of it; vain, too, of what he styled his "kingcraft," though his political conduct was a succession of blunders. He was imbued with exorbitant notions of his prerogative, about which he constantly declaimed, but which he had neither the requisite courage or address to maintain. He was lavish and improvident in the expenditure of money, and prone to bestow his favours upon unworthy persons, who had nothing but a brilliant exterior to recommend them, and whose conduct redounded to his own unpopularity. This, added to drunkenness, in which respect his courtiers followed his example, tended further to disgrace him in the eyes of his subjects. He was, however, good-natured, a lover of peace, and disinclined to the shedding of blood on the scaffold.

James I. was precisely the kind of King to be vanquished in contention with the shrewd and persevering Commons, for his prodigality constantly compelled him to apply to them for money, and thus to give them a manifest advantage over him; and he had neither sufficient caution to avoid provoking their opposition to his pretensions, nor sufficient resolution to make those pretensions good. Hence the immense advance in authority and importance which that assembly made in the course of his reign, and the disputes with it, in which his son, immediately on his accession to the throne, found himself involved.

"MAGNA CHARTA."

BY JOHN PARKER, JUN.

A Lecture delivered to the Wycombe Church Helpers' Society, on the 15th of February, 1876.

The subject upon which I am to speak to you this evening, although probably not attractive to every one present, is an appropriate one, as we live within a very short distance of the site of the Castle of Alan Basset, one of the great barons who signed Magna Charta. Only the old Grist Mill and the name of Bassetsbury survive to remind us that this powerful lord was once a neighbour, and took, no doubt, an important part in the doings of this ancient borough town in the reign of King John. The lands to the east of the Rye Mead, indeed, are full of antiquarian interest, as centuries before Basset's Castle was reared, in close proximity to the site, stood that interesting Roman villa which a short time back was partly brought to light. But, in addition to our local connection with one who took a prominent part in obtaining the great Charter from John, it must be remembered that the place where the Charter itself was signed, the "Island of Runnemede," we claim to be in our own county. To understand the great results which flowed from the grant of this Charter by the King, we must for a few minutes consider the position of the country in the thirteenth century. The castles that are scattered about Great Britain, with their battlements, their moats, and their strong defences, point out to us the feudal system which then existed. The King was the great feudal chief; the Barons were smaller chieftains, around whose castle each had his band of retainers, and many were the feuds, and struggles, and ravages which were committed between lord and lord. Within the castle, whatever luxury the age then knew might be found; but without the moat and beyond the Baron's towers the retainers and peasants lived in miserable huts and in a low stage of civilization. The Barons were brave soldiers in time of war, and good sportsmen in the short intervals of peace; but they were not bookish men, few even could write their names. Thus we find that when a great man wished to confirm a great act, he sealed with the crest—the same device which appeared on his helm—generally with a thumb-ring, the document to which his name was attached, and such was the case with those who were named in the great Charter. If there were any of the type of what we now call the middle class, they would be found among the citizens and burgesses of the towns, who betrayed their Saxon origin by their love of liberty, and their veneration for the laws of Edward the Confessor. But learning was chiefly confined to the monasteries; the clergy were not only the ecclesiastics, but the lawyers of the age. The cell of the monk was the only place where books could be transcribed, and scarcely elsewhere could books be found; and though the learning that then existed was, as we may suppose, cramped and fettered, yet we are greatly indebted to the religious orders for passing on to us the stream of knowledge, which would have otherwise stagnated. And whilst on the subject of the characteristics of this age, we can never forget that the most eminent architects in our country flourished in the reigns of the Plantagenets—they were among the great churchmen of the times—we have an opportunity, in the restoration of the early English work of our own parish church, of admiring the taste and beauty displayed by the architects of this period. The barbaric grandeur of the Norman was gradually being superseded by the pointed arch, the graceful early English style. Almost every cathedral of the land is an evidence of the energy of the architects of the times of which we speak, and is a monument worthy in other respects of a better age.

Let us for a moment consider the language of the times. At Court and among the Norman Barons, Norman-French was still spoken, and this badge of the conquests of William did not cease to exist till Normandy was lost to the English kings. All legal documents were in Latin; of course English was spoken by the common people. It was, indeed, still the language of the nation; but for half-a-century it ceased to be literary, till one Layamon, in the year 1200, wrote a poem, "To tell the noble deeds of England," of more than thirty thousand lines, in which it is said that less than fifty Norman words are to be found. We can scarcely conceive of the condition of things as they then existed, when the speech of the King, the written law, and the very prayers of the Church, were in a tongue not understood by the people.

Having thus spoken of the times in which the great Charter was signed, let us now turn our eyes to King John. It is a mistake to describe him as altogether impotent, although it is correct to speak of him as mean and cruel. After referring to various historians, I am inclined to think that the following summary of his character by Dean Hook, in his "Lives of the Archbishops," is exceedingly correct. He says: "His frivolity and caprice rendered it impossible to say beforehand what, under any state of circumstances, he might determine to do. His inconsistency of temper would at one time hurry him into deeds of tyranny; at another time degrade him into acts of indescribable meanness. He feared not to stain his hands in a nephew's blood, and yet he licked the dust before a sub-deacon of Rome. Nevertheless, we find in him no want of animal courage, no want even of mental vigour, when at any time he was compelled to rouse himself from the filth and sloth of his self-indulgence." From the time of William of Normandy, the Kings had treated England as a conquered country. They were for the most part rude men and mighty hunters, and to gratify their favourite recreation whole districts were depopulated to extend the vast tracts of forest that then existed. Much misery, it may well be believed, ensued from these acts of selfish tyranny. To give an idea of the severity of the forest laws, Matthew of Westminster remarks of William I., "that if men disabled a wild beast they were dispossessed and imprisoned;" and in another place, "if it were a stag, a buck, or a boar, they were deprived of their eyes." John rather increased than diminished the severity of these forest laws, making the penalties attaching to the destroying a beast, and even the "winged creation," as severe as taking away the life of a human being. His oppressions had become intolerable, heavy burdens were inflicted on the transmission of property, money was unjustly extorted from the subject, and misgovernment had produced discontent and distrust. Through his refusal to accept the Pope's nominee, Stephen Langton, of whom we shall have more to say presently, as Archbishop of Canterbury, Innocent put the land under an interdict, the churches were closed, the bells ceased to sound, and the sacraments were refused. Then, at another period of his reign, probably to obtain the Pope's influence on his side against his Barons, John actually resigned England and Ireland to the Chair of St. Peter, and agreed to hold these dominions as feudatory of the Church of Rome by the annual payment of a thousand marks. England, too, was constantly embroiled in wars with Philip of France, with the vain hope on the part of John to regain his lost possessions in Normandy, and when he could not rally his own soldiers, he would constantly bring mercenaries to his aid. The few instances thus related will prepare us to understand that if there was any spirit in the land it would now be manifested. We cannot do better than to quote Shäkespeare's words in summing up the evils of this reign:—

"The life, the right, and truth of all this realm
Is fled to heaven; and England now is left
To tug and scramble, and to part by th' teeth
The unowed interest of proud-swelling state.
Now, for the bare-picked bone of majesty
Doth doggéd war bristle his angry crest,
And snarleth in the gentle eyes of peace.
Now powers from home, and discontents at home
Meet in one line, and vast confusion waits
(As doth a raven on a sick-fallen beast)
The imminent decay of wrested pomp.
Now happy he whose cloak and cincture can
Hold out this tempest."

A difficulty naturally arises how it came to pass that the Barons, who were Norman by race, and had received their lands through the grace and favour of the Norman Kings, were on the side of liberty, that they gradually gave up their native French language, and that the English language eventually regained its dominancy among the upper as well as the lower classes. The explanation is this: the Kings had encroached on the privileges of the Barons, their estates were constantly plundered, they listened, therefore, willingly to the traditions of the citizens of the ancient towns where freedom still lurked, who told of true Saxon liberty and the just laws of the Confessor. They felt there was a common cause between themselves and the English; hence it was that they threw off every vestige of their origin, gradually assumed the ancient tongue of the nation, and espoused the cause of the people.

It is not my purpose to repeat the history of the events which preceded the memorable meeting at Runnemede, but a few preliminary remarks appear necessary. The first thing that naturally would excite our curiosity would be as to the persons who figured in this great transaction, the prime movers of so important a work. The chosen leader of the movement was Robert Fitz-Walter, a man of high character, and styled the "Marshal of the Army of God and of Holy Church;" but though chosen for his exalted qualities, he had not the sagacity of the general who could carry out so delicate an undertaking. It required not a mere brave and determined knight, but a man of education—a lawyer—to carry through so difficult a task. Education, as I have said, was then chiefly confined to the clergy, and to a Churchman we must look at this crisis. The true leader and adviser in framing and obtaining from John the Charter was Stephen Langton, one of the most remarkable men of his age. An Englishman by birth, but educated in France, he was a man of varied talents. He was a poet (a miracle play in Norman-French is attributed to him), an historian, and wrote the Life of Richard I.; but his chief literary pursuits were in Biblical lore. He wrote commentaries on most of the books of the Old Testament, and on the Epistles of St. Paul. His works are to be found in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and in the British Museum. Dean Hook, with reference to him, gives the following quotation from an old chronicler: "In XI yere of Henry deied Stevene Langdon, Bishop of Cauntirbury, that was a grete clerk in his dayes in making of many bokes, specially upon Scripture, for his work upon the XII Prophetys have I seyn."* It is believed of him that he divided the whole Bible into chapters. Although Langton owed his elevation to the see of Canterbury to the Pope, and was a cardinal of the Church of Rome, he nevertheless acted independently when his country's liberties were at stake—he was a patriot as well as an ecclesiastic. After the submission of the King to Innocent, they both, King and Pope, concerted against the Barons; but, notwithstanding this, the Archbishop would not absolve the King from the excommunication that had been long inflicted on him till he took a special oath, prepared by Langton, that he would renew the good laws of his ancestors, and specially those of King Edward. This oath was administered with great pomp at the venerable Cathedral of Winchester, in the presence of a vast body of prelates and people.

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* "Capgrave Chronicles," p. 152.

The historian Rapin seems to doubt the sincerity of Langton,* because he appeared to affect to perform the office of mediator between the King and the Barons. It is true that he came with the King and a few lords to meet the Barons at Runnemede, but this one would imagine was a mere incident; and it must be remembered that he was in a high and very responsible position, to whose voice the King would at all events listen with respect. Hume, however, who would at no time unduly praise an ecclesiastic, I find speaks of him thus in the part he took in obtaining the Charter: "But nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton, a man whose memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by a palpable encroachment of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English." The monument of Langton's patriotism must be the Charter itself, of which undoubtedly he was the author.

Hidden in the obscurity of a monastery, the Charter of the first Henry was found. It was a precedent for Langton, and with lawyers there is nothing like a precedent. This Charter was framed in accordance with the laws of the Confessor. It was read with all solemnity at one of the meetings of the Barons. The first Council was held at St. Albans on the 4th of August, 1213, at which the Barons enjoined the Sheriffs, the Rangers of the Forests, and other the King's officers to abstain from extortion, and acts of violence and oppression. At St. Edmondsbury, on the plea of devotion at the feast of the Saxon saint, the Barons mustered in large force. It was there that Langton's burning eloquence, as he descanted on the tyranny of the King and the wrongs of their country, inflamed the Barons to the highest pitch, and there they took a solemn oath before the high altar that they would withdraw their allegiance from the King unless he granted their just demands. In the Abbey grounds at Bury St. Edmunds the following inscription may be seen :—

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* See "Rapin's History," vol. i., book 8, p. 276.

> "Near this spot, Cardinal Langton and the Barons swore at St. Edmund's altar that they would obtain from King John the ratification of Magna Charta.
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> "Where the rude buttress totters to its fall,
> And ivy mantles o'er the crumbling wall;
> Where e'en the skilful eye can scarcely trace
> The once high altar's lonely resting place.
> Let patriotic fancy muse awhile
> Around the ruins of this ancient pile.
> Six weary centuries have passed away,
> Palace and abbey moulder in decay;
> Cold death enshrouds the learned and the brave,
> Langton—Fitzwalter, slumber in the grave.
> But still we read in deathless records how
> The high-soul'd priest confirmed the baron's vow,
> And freedom unforgetful still recites
> This second birthplace of our native rights."

It was not without great determination and evidences of strength that John at length yielded, and in the summer of 1215 met the Barons at the great conference at Runnemede. An assembly of the first in the land, venerable prelates and true knights—it might be called the first meeting of the House of Lords—must have been an imposing spectacle. John could muster but few on his side, but his disaffected subjects were many and determined. A few days, and the issue was settled; in fact, John signed the Charter with a suspicious haste, seeing that he had exclaimed but a short time before, "Why do they not demand my crown at once?" and then, with an oath, "No liberties will I grant to those whose object is to make me their slave."

Having thus given a few of the historical facts that preceded the signing of the Charter, let us now very briefly allude to the Charter itself. My Lord Coke, one of the soundest but driest of lawyers, surprises us with this amusing attempt at facetiousness. In his "Second Institutes" he says: "King Alexander was called Alexander Magnus, not in respect of the largeness of his body, for he was a little man, but in respect of the greatness of his heroical spirit, of whom it might be truly said—

> "Mens tamen in parvo corpore magna fuit."

So as of this great Charter it may be truly said that it is *magnum in parvo.*"* A reference to the original Charter at the British Museum, or a *fac-simile* of it—a beautiful specimen of caligraphy for those times—will convince us of the correctness as well as triteness of Coke's remarks.

There were preliminary articles, but the Charter itself was divided into seventy-nine sections. My object is merely to call attention to a few of its more prominent provisions. The first words of the Charter are, "The Church of England shall be free." There were two attacks against which Churchmen desired to guard themselves—the one was the aggression of the Bishop of Rome, the other the interference of the King. In these corrupt times it was frequently the case that rich benefices in England were conferred by the Pope on Italian favourites, to the prejudice of the meritorious native clergy. There were English prelates who strongly resisted these usurpations of the See of Rome. Langton, we shall have gathered, was one of them, and without enumerating a list of others, I may mention Archbishop Chichele, who, in the reign of Henry VI., refused to consecrate a Bishop of Ely who was nominated by Pope Eugenius IV. It had been well for the liberties of the Gallican and other Churches under the jurisdiction of the Papal power, if their Bishops had shown the like independence during the recent Œcumenical Council, which decreed the dogma of Papal infallibility. This first article of the Charter was the first step toward the enactment of the statutes of Præmunire; that is, the introducing a foreign power into this land, an offence which was punishable long before the Reformation by imprisonment at the King's pleasure during life; and the thirty-seventh of our Articles of Religion was merely the final assertion of our independence, where it uses those memorable words, "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England." But the other formidable foe to the liberties of the Church was the King. It was his practice to issue a royal *congé d'elire* to the chapters of the cathedrals, recommending some favoured person to a vacant bishopric. History tells us that many of the prelates of those days were far better soldiers than divines, and it can be easily understood that an irreligious King like John would fix his choice for a bishop rather on one who would serve his own purposes, than on one who would faithfully fill the sacred office. It was the object of this article of the Charter that the Church should freely choose its own bishops. It may occur to some that in these very days (a practice revived at the Reformation) the Royal *congé d'elire* is still issued with the recommendation to the chapters; but it must be remembered that it is issued by a Constitutional Monarch, the temporal head of the National Church, and that the Bishop is really selected by the Prime Minister of the day, who is the chosen of the people, and who, for the most part, reflects the wishes of the nation in the choice he makes. This mode of selection is acquiesced in by both clergy and laity, not because it is altogether theoretically correct, but because practically it works well.

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* "Second Institutes." The Proem.

The earlier part of the Charter is occupied with directions with regard to the succession to property, and those whose interests are connected therewith. Restrictions are imposed as to the amount the King is to claim for what are termed *reliefs* from the heir. The limit of the claim is only a proof of the exorbitant demands which must have been made, as for an earldom the sum of £100 has to be paid by the heir—a large sum indeed considering the then value of money. There were also humane provisions with regard to seizures for payment of debts, and restrictions were made on the interest which could be claimed by the Jew money-lender. The City of London was to retain its ancient liberties and free customs, "as well by land as by water." If the Norman kings could wrench the liberties from the rural population, it must be remembered that the citizens of London had been ever held in a certain degree of respect, that London was at this time a city of commerce, and that the Thames was the secret of its wealth. This retention of the ancient liberties and customs was also extended to "all other cities and boroughs, towns and ports." We come now, however, to a very interesting provision in the Charter, which will show that the Barons had the welfare of the whole nation at heart, and were determined that justice should be promptly administered. The provision which I allude to is this, "Common pleas shall not follow our court, but be holden in some certain place."* Common Pleas was the court which was intended to decide all controversies between subject and subject, just as the King's Bench was the court to correct all crimes and misdemeanours, and the Court of Exchequer to adjust and recover the King's revenue.† But originally these courts were embraced in one, the Aula Regia, and would follow the King's person wherever he might go; so that if the King moved (and John was a very restless monarch) from London to York, and thence to Exeter, the unfortunate plaintiff would have to track his steps if he intended to prosecute his claim. Imagine this state of things! One can only say that, for the infirm and aged, the idea of a court of justice must have been merely a term of mockery. The name of King's Bench implies that the King himself sat in court, but it should be understood that in moving from place to place he took with him some great officers of state, who had seats in the Aula Regia—the King's court—and who were men "learned in the law." But, as Blackstone says, "this great universal court being bound to follow the King's household in all his progresses and expeditions, the trial of common causes therein was found very burdensome to the subject." I am reminded here of the fact that the religious houses were bound to furnish strong pack-horses, free of charge, to carry the records and legal documents from place to place as the King moved his quarters. We cannot fully realize the boon which we enjoy of having justice at our doors, until we understand the difficulties of travelling to the King's Court in the thirteenth century. The roads were then in a fearful state; carriages could seldom be used, especially in winter; travelling was chiefly on horseback, through bridleways and thick forests often infested with robbers, so that travellers, for protection and "good cheer," frequently journeyed in companies. We shall remember that the pilgrims to Canterbury were always represented as equestrians. The goods and traffic of the country were chiefly carried by pack-horses, and to give an instance of the difficulty of getting from place to place, it is related that, in 1381, a King's herald, with every advantage of safe conduct and equipment, was not

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[*] Sec 22.

[†] Blac. Comm., 22nd ed., vol. iii., p. 48, by Stewart.

expected to perform the journey from London to Berwick in less than forty days. The perils, too, of the way were many indeed, as a rider might have to leave his horse smothered in a bog or drowned in the ford. "Even so late as the reign of Henry VIII. the streets of our metropolis are described as being many of them very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous as well for the king's subjects on horseback as on foot."* Sufficient I think has now been said to show the great inconvenience that arose from not having the courts of law at some fixed locality. It is even mentioned by Fabian that the records, when sent back from Shrewsbury in the reign of Edward I., received much damage from the rain.† The great advantage to the suitors was eventually gained when the courts were permanently fixed through the instrumentality of the Charter at the ancient Palace of Westminster. The glorious Hall, built in the reign of Richard II., is still the rendezvous of the lawyers. Soon, as we are aware, the courts will be removed to the buildings in the Strand, now in the course of erection; but the ancient Hall of Westminster will ever be remembered as the spot where justice was administered, as it will remain part of the Houses of Parliament, where the laws continue to be made. The judges, soon after the signing of the Charter, were regularly appointed, were exalted to the dignity of knights, then esteemed a higher rank than now, with all appliances to uphold their dignity, and with fixed salaries.

And here I will quote some interesting extracts from Herbert's "Inns of Court," first as to the dresses of the judges, and then as to their salaries, in the days of the Plantagenets. "Edward III., in the twentieth year of his reign, by precept to the keeper of his great wardrobe, commands him to deliver to William Scott, and the rest of his fellow-justices of his bench there named; as also to John de Stonor, and those with him, justices of the Common Pleas; and likewise to Robert de Sadyngtone, and other the barons of his Exchequer—viz., to each of them for their summer vestments or robes for that present year, half a short cloth and one piece of fine linen silk; and for the winter season another half of a cloth-colour curt, with a hood and three pieces of fur of white budg. And for the feast of the nativity of our Lord, half a cloth-colour curt, with a hood of two and thirty bellies of minever, another fur with seven tires of minever, and two furs of silk. In the twenty-first of the same prince, Sir William de Thorpe, then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, with Sir William Basset and Sir Roger de Bankewell, his fellow-justices of that court, were allowed out of the same wardrobe, at the feast of All Saints, for their winter robes, each of them half a cloth-colour curt, three furs of white budg, and one hood of the same budg; and for their liveries at Christmas, each of them half a cloth likewise colour curt, one hood containing thirty-two bellies of minever half pure, one fur of minever containing seven tires and two furs of silk, each of seven tires; and for their summer robes each of them half a cloth-colour curt, with one piece and a half of thin silk.

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* "Life of Wycliffe, by Dr. R. Vaughan, pp. 17 to 19.

† Chron., Part ii., p. 124.

"In 11 R. 11, Sir Walter de Clopton, Knight, then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and John Hall, his fellow-justice of the Common Pleas; and William Thyrning, William Kykill, John Wadham, and Richard Sydenham, Justices also of the same court, had for their summer robes the following liveries—viz., each of the chief justices ten ells of green cloth long, and twenty-four ells of green taffeta; and each of the rest ten ells of green cloth long. Ten ells of the like cloth was also at the same time given to John Cassy, Chief Baron of the Exchequer." Now, with reference to the salaries of the judges, "the first yearly salaries paid to the king's justices of his respective courts at Westminster for their support in his service, are in the eleventh year of King Henry III., son of King John, the liberatæ rolls before that time being all perished; but then Will. de Insula and R. Duket had each of them ten marks per annum out of the Exchequer. Not long afterwards these fees were increased, for, in 23 Hen. III., William de Culeworth, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, had £20 per annum fee. In 27 Hen. III., Alexander de Swereford, a Baron of the Exchequer, and it seems Chief, had forty marks per annum; and in 38 Hen. III., John de Wyville, one of the Barons of that court, twenty marks. In 43 Hen. III., Gilbert de Preston, then one of the Justices of the King's Bench, had £40 per annum; and in 44

Hen. III., Roger de Thurkilby, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, one hundred marks per annum; but he was, as it appears, then chief justice in that court, though there was a justiciarius Angliæ at the same time, for Robert de Briwes, then also a justice in the Court of Common Pleas, had no more than £40 per annum."

In addition to the advantage of fixed and known courts of justice, the regulation that justice should be administered in the counties, "by sending two Justiciaries through every county four times a-year, who, with the four Knights chosen out of every shire by the people, should hold the assizes in the county on the day and time appointed," was a salutary system, and one that commends itself to us in this nineteenth century.

It is striking to observe, in going through the Charter, that villains or rustics, as well as the freemen and merchantmen, are to be cared for and their interests protected. In fining a freeman, his means of livelihood are to be spared, a merchant his merchandise, and a villain his "wainage," meaning his carts and implements of husbandry, so that neither should be utterly ruined; and as to freemen, the word is saving his "contenementum." Selden, in his "Table-Talk," says that the word contenementum signifies the same with countenance; as used by the country people when intending to receive a person with hospitality, they say, "I will show you the best countenance," so that the meaning of Magna Charta is, a man shall not be so fined but that he may be able to give his neighbours good entertainment.* There is a salutary provision, too, as to the just distribution of the chattels of a freeman dying without a will; and as an evidence that commerce was not forgotten, that the prosperity of trade was deemed of vast importance, and as a testimony to the comprehensiveness of the Charter, I refer to the following provisions:—

"41. There shall be one measure of wine and one of ale through our whole realm, and one measure of corn, and one breadth of dyed cloth, and the weight shall be as measures."

"48. All merchants shall have secure conduct to go out of England and to come into England, and to stay and abide there, and to pass as well by land as by water, to buy and sell by the ancient and allowed customs, without any evil to it except in time of war, or when they are of any nation at war with us."

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* "Barrington on the Ancient Statutes," 5th edit., p. 12.

These regulations speak for themselves: the uniform weight and measure, and the freedom of merchandise and merchantmen, were felt even in these days essential to the prosperity of any nation.

It is not my purpose, as I have before intimated, to go *seriatim* through the articles of this weighty deed, but to confine myself to those points in the Charter which seem to be as the great corner-stones of the edifice of our Constitution, which was then being gradually reared. I come, therefore, now to another most important clause: it is as follows:—

"46. No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, etc., nor will we pass upon him or commit him to prison, unless by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

In this enactment we shall at once recognise one of the greatest safeguards of our liberties, viz., trial by jury; but before we further dwell on that subject, let me for a few moments direct your attention to the different modes of trial in this country in its early history, which are to be gleaned from our legal text-books. The historian Tacitus records that the ancient Germans were extremely addicted to divination; hence it was that from our Saxon ancestors we trace much superstition in our laws and customs. It was not till the reign of George I. that people were discouraged from resorting to the sovereign to be cured, through the efficacy of his sacred person by his touch, from the disease commonly called the king's evil. This vulgar credulity had, in the reign of Charles II., risen to such a height, that in fourteen years 92,107 persons were touched, and, according to Wiseman, the king's physician, they were nearly all cured! Queen Anne officially announced in the "London Gazette," March 12th, 1712, her royal intention to touch publicly for the cure of the evil. The practice commenced in the reign of Edward the Confessor, 1058.*

I am here reminded of a tradition in my own family connected with the ancient village of Bledlow. The village appears to have been greatly plagued by a witch. At one of the farm-homesteads the parish priest had been called in, the ceremony of exorcism had been gone through, and the sacred horse-shoe had been nailed over the door, but all to no purpose, for the rustics on a frosty morning had loaded up their waggon, and were driving it on the road to market, when on the way, near a pond, the waggon upset its contents into the water. The driver and his companion, instead of reproaching themselves with their negligence, or remembering that the brisk morning had made their horses skittish, exclaimed, in uncomplimentary terms, "We haven't laid her!" meaning the village witch, to whom they attributed their present calamity. But even to this day in neglected districts, as we find from our daily papers, the belief in witchcraft has not yet died out.

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* Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates."

The trial by *ordeal* was decidedly of Saxon origin; it was of two sorts, *fire* ordeal and *water* ordeal. The former was the enviable privilege of those in high rank, the latter was confined to the common people. But, singularly enough, the ordeal might be gone through by deputy, but the principal was to answer for the success of the trial. Fire ordeal was performed either by taking up in the hand unhurt a piece of red-hot iron of one, two, or three pounds weight, or else by walking barefoot and blindfold over nine red-hot ploughshares laid lengthwise at unequal distances; and if the person escaped being hurt he was adjudged innocent, but if it happened otherwise, as without collusion it usually did, he was then condemned as guilty. Water ordeal was performed either by plunging the bare arm up to the elbow in boiling water and escaping unhurt, or by casting the person suspected into a river or pond of cold water; and if he floated therein without any action of swimming, it was deemed an evidence of his guilt, but if he sunk he was acquitted.* One scarcely knows which to commiserate the most, the successful or unsuccessful party in the trial by ordeal. So late as the reign of King John there were grants to the bishops and clergy to use *judicium ferri, aquæ et ignis.* The next species of trial, and of Saxon origin, was by *corsned*, being a piece of cheese or bread of about an ounce in weight, which was consecrated with a form of exorcism, desiring the Almighty that it might cause convulsions and paleness if the man was really guilty, but might turn to health and nourishment if he was innocent.* The next species was of Norman origin, and was in force much later than the two former. This was the trial "by *battel*"—duel or single combat, as Blackstone says, another presumptuous appeal to Providence. The same author gives us the form and manner of this trial, from whom I now quote in an abbreviated and more simple form. The accused pleaded *not guilty*, and threw down his glove, and declared he would defend the same by his body; the accuser took up the glove, and replied that he was ready to make good the appeal body for body. And thereupon the accused, taking the Bible in his right hand and in his left the right hand of his antagonist, swore that he was not guilty, and would defend by his body as the court should award. To which the accuser replied, holding the Bible and his antagonist's hand in the same manner as the other, asserting that the accused had perjured himself and had committed the crime, which he the accuser would prove by his body. The battle was then to be fought with the same weapons, viz., batons. If the accused was so far vanquished that he could not or would not fight any longer, he was adjudged to be hanged immediately; and then, as well as if he were killed in battle, Providence was deemed to have determined in favour of the truth, and his blood was attainted. But if he killed the accuser, or could maintain the fight from sunrising till the stars appeared in the evening, he was acquitted; so also, if the accuser became recreant, and pronounced the horrible word of *craven*, he lost his freedom and became infamous, and the accused was acquitted. "The last trial by battel waged in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster (though there was afterwards one in the Court of Chivalry in 1631, and another in the County Palatine of Durham in 1638) was in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, 1571, and was held in Tothill Fields, Westminster, not without a great deal of disturbance, as Sir Henry Spelman, who was an eye-witness, tells us."* It strikes me that this system of trial by battel occasioned the common saying, that "the weakest goes to the wall."

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* Blac. Comm., Stewart's ed., vol. iv., p. 398.

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* Blac. Comm. Stewart's ed., vol. iv., p. 401.

I need not say that these species of trials have long since been abolished, giving place to *trial by jury*, the principles of which were enunciated, as we have seen, in Magna Charta. This mode of trial has been a great safeguard. Twelve peers or equals intervening between the Crown and the subject on his trial have secured him, at all events, from an arbitrary sentence. The character of King John, exercising the office of judge himself in the Aula Regia, or leaving justice to be administered by his own nominees, would suffice to convince us that the subject would fare badly indeed if the cause in which he was interested was one in which the King or his justices had an adverse leaning. There is a great deal of obscurity as to the origin of trial by jury. Some affirm that it was in use in the days of our King Alfred, but that it was adopted on the Continent prior to the granting of the great Charter there appears no doubt. The effect of the principle of this mode of trial must be to bring a sense of the importance of maintaining even-handed justice among all classes of the community, and of the responsibility which thereby devolves on the subject. Trial by jury does undoubtedly find its principle is strained in countries where prejudices occasioned by evil influences are dominant, but among a free and enlightened people it must ever be regarded as a cherished safeguard of liberty and law.

But there is an all-important addendum to the clause which conferred the great boon of trial by jury; it is this:—

"47. We will sell, or deny, or defer right or justice to no man."

A few instances of the corruption of the times on which we are dwelling will suffice to convince us of the importance of the latter clause. The county of Norfolk (always represented as a litigious county, insomuch that the number of attorneys allowed to practice in it is reduced by a statute of Henry VI. to eight) payed an annual composition at the Exchequer that they might *be fairly dealt with*.† The saying was—

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* Blac. Comm., Stewart's edit, vol. iii., p. 383.

† Madox's Hist. Excheq., p. 205.

"Norfolk full of *wyles*,
Suffolk full of *styles*."

It was usual to pay fines anciently for delaying or expediting process. In some cases the parties litigant offered part of what they were to recover to the Crown. The Dean of London paid twenty marks to the King, that he might assist him against the Bishop in a lawsuit. William Stictevile presented to King John three thousand marks for giving judgment with relation to a certain barony which he claimed.* So late as the reign of Charles II., it is asserted that he (the King), in appeals to the House of Lords, used to go about whilst the cause was hearing, and solicit particular lords for appellant or respondent. Barrington, who is a very accomplished commentator on the ancient statutes, in his frequent classical allusions, and as an evidence that bribes were of early origin, refers to Hesiod, who had a troublesome lawsuit with his brother Perseus, and in inveighing against the practice of bribing, he calls the Bœotian judges more than once δωροφαγοι, or *devourers of presents.* Happily this disgraceful practice, against which the Barons had set their faces, has long since passed away; and if, for now a long succession of years, we desire to know where integrity, uprightness, and impartiality in the administration of justice can be found, we can point, with pride and perfect truth, to the character of our English judges. The following words from the Charter, which I think it appropriate here to give, are weighty, as regards the appointment of efficient administrators of the law:—

"53. We will not make any justiciaries, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs but such as are knowing in the laws of the realm, and are disposed duly to observe it."

The Charter deals much with the regulations of feudal tenures, but on these it is not my purpose to dwell; that which affects our own age is that alone upon which I have chiefly directed your attention. I just notice a very significant enactment embraced in these words:—

"55. All woods that have been taken into the forests in our own time shall forthwith be laid out again."

But I have already said enough to show the hatred in which the forest laws must have been held.

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* Barrington's Anc. Stats., p. 23.

John's wars, as I have mentioned, were carried on frequently, with the sole object of recovering his lost possessions in Normandy. His English subjects, consequently, had but little sympathy with his designs, and it was with difficulty that he could rally them round his standard. England, therefore, was inundated with foreigners, hirelings of the King, the refuse of the Continent, who sought their livelihood by indiscriminate bloodshed. We can imagine that they were unwelcome visitors, and the necessity of the following enactment speaks for itself:—

"59. As soon as peace is restored, we will send out of the kingdom all foreign soldiers, crossbowmen and stipendiaries, who are come with horses and arms to the injury of our people."

To five-and-twenty barons was the task assigned of redressing the many grievances and the gross injustice to which the people had been subjected.

These oppressions are enumerated with great care in the Charter. Castles, rights, and liberties are to be restored to the dispossessed; all unjust and illegal fines shall be forgiven; and the boon which was to be conferred on his English subjects is to be extended by the King, where particular acts of oppression occur to the Welsh, and to Alexander, the injured King of Scots. Not satisfied with mere words and the signature of the Charter by the King, a security was taken from him that, if the King proved faithless to his pledges, the five-and-twenty barons might seize his castles and lands till the grievance was redressed, with this proviso, "saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our queen and children." And in carrying out the Charter, all were to have free liberty to take an oath to obey the order of the five-and-twenty barons.

In reviewing this memorable document, we shall, I think, have come to the conclusion that the foundation of great principles, which Englishmen cherish, was being securely laid. We shall perceive by what sure and gradual steps our constitution grew to that completeness which now occasions the envy and wonder of Continental statesmen. That liberty, descending from the King to the barons and upper classes, was being conferred on the mercantile community, and on the citizens and burgesses of our towns; and that though scant justice was being dealt out to the peasants, yet their names are not forgotten, and that they only needed more enlightenment to assert their rights and their position in the great Commonwealth. We have seen that we are indebted to the barons for a free national church; for the establishment of fixed courts of law, to which the suitors could resort, without difficulty; for the periodical dispensing of justice in the provinces by the judges of the land; for the equitable distribution of the estates of those dying without a will; for the encouragement of commerce and the freedom of the merchant; for trial by jury and purity in administering the law; and, finally, for the restraining within due bounds the prerogatives of the Crown, and the informal creation of the second estate in the realm—the House of Lords. Such results as these can well explain the veneration with which every Englishman versed in the history of his country regards the Charter of liberties.

It only remains to tell its history for a short period after its signing at Runnymede. It was published throughout the whole country, and sworn to at every hundred-mote and town-mote, by order from the King. After the signing of the Charter, it is said that John burst into a fury, "flinging himself on the floor, and gnawing sticks and straw in his impotent rage; but the rage soon passed into the subtle policy of which he was master. Before daybreak he had ridden from Windsor, and he lingered for months along the southern shore—the Cinque Ports and the Isle of Wight—waiting for news of the aid he had solicited from Rome and the Continent."* Innocent still looked upon himself as the feudal lord of England; he therefore treated the acts of the barons with disdain. He issued a bull, in which he annulled the whole Charter as unjust in itself, as obtained by compulsion, and as derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see. He prohibited both King and barons from carrying it out, he absolved all who had taken any oaths in connection with it, and excommunicated any one who should maintain the legality of the Charter. Langton refused to obey the Pope in publishing the sentence of excommunication against the barons, though he was cited to Rome, and was suspended on account of his disobedience.* But all classes of the people adhered to the defence of their liberties, and John could only depend for his authority on the hateful assistance of foreign mercenaries. He died, we know, in the midst of the struggle of a civil war. His youthful son Henry, a child of ten years old, after his coronation solemnly accepted the great Charter, being under the guidance of William, the Earl Mareschal, who was devoted to the liberties of his country. Langton survived many years the death of John; as he had been the author, so was he the faithful upholder, of that document which was to secure his countrymen their legitimate rights. It is recorded of him that he demanded a fresh confirmation of the Charter in the Parliament then sitting at Oxford. One of the King's councillors, William Brewer, protested that it had been extorted by force, and was without legal validity. "If you loved the King, William," replied the Archbishop, "you would not throw a stumbling-block in the way of the peace of the nation." The King was cowed by the Archbishop's wrath, and at once promised the observance of the Charter.† But this reign is only a prolonged and weary history of the conflict of King and Pope against the liberties of this country; of the struggles of the barons to maintain what had already been gained by them; of their weaknesses, dissensions, and vacillations. Henry, however, was a very different man to his father; if he had none of his energy and statesmanship, he was, although weak and superstitious, entirely devoid of his lust, cruelty, and irreligion. The great Abbey of Westminster, erected by him on the site of Edward the Confessor's Church, "is a monument of his artistic taste. He was a patron and friend of artists and men of letters, and himself skilled in the gay science of the troubadour."‡ But his grand mistake appears to have been his desire to regain Normandy, and his willingness to yield to foreigners and their influence which pervaded his court. He repeatedly swore to observe the Charter, and as often broke his promise. However, the basis of our liberties was laid down, and the superstructure—the system of administration—remained to be reared. There was undoubtedly, in the midst of turbulence and war, much groping in the dark, but progress was surely making. Parliaments were called together, and this reign records the first summons of two burgesses from every borough to sit with the knights of the shire, the barons, and bishops in the great national assembly. We have only as yet heard the voice of the barons in the cause of liberty; henceforward, though yet but feeble and intermittent, we hear the voices of the representatives of the people. The cause was a national one, espoused by a free race, whose love for law has not been exceeded by their love for liberty, and the cause of the people has happily been now for many a long year in full accord with and faithfully respected by the Throne.

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* Green's "History of English People," p. 125.

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* Hume's "History of England," vol. ii., page 94.

† Green's Hist., page 138. ‡ Ib., page 139.

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT NUNNERY OF ANKERWYKE, IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.

Dugdale's continuators do not add much to the scanty information that has descended, to this day, concerning the ancient Religious House of Ankerwyke, in the parish of Wyrardesbury and diocese of Lincoln, not far from Staines, on the banks of the Thames. The foundation is placed so far back as the time of Henry II., the middle period, that is, of the twelfth century, and a very fertile age in monastic dissemination in England. Some writers, however, consider that the founder, Sir Gilbert de Montfitchet, Knight, and his son, Sir Richard Montfitchet, flourished in the early years of this century; and this is borne out by the mention of Hugh, Abbot of Chertsey, as a benefactor of this nunnery, a name which occurs in the list of abbots of that abbey in A.D. 1107. The nuns, who occupied this small and unpretending establishment, were under the rule of St. Benedict, and their house was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. The *Monasticon Anglicanum* contains a list of the prioresses from Browne Willis's *Mitred Abbeys*, the Rev. William Cole's manuscripts in the British Museum, and other original sources. The last of these prioresses, Dame Magdalene Downes, had a pension of one hundred shillings granted to her at the dissolution. The *Monasticon* also prints an interesting Charter of King Henry III., A.D. 1257, confirming the donations of the benefactors of the nunnery who are thus named:—

Gilbert de Munfichet,	grantor of lands, etc.,	at	Ankerwyk.
Ricardus de Bruera	„	„	Wyresdeburi, Alerburn.
Gilb. de Muntfichet and Avelina, his wife	„	„	Wymede.
Richard, his son	„	„	Morelaund and the Island of Tyngeyt.
Richard, son of the above Richard	„	„	In the same island.
Hugh, Abbot of Chertsey	„	„	Pernerhs.
Ralph, son of Matthew	„	„	Herpefeud.
Grunwine de Trottesworth Geoffrey de Middelton Robert de Middelton Henry, son of Hen. de Middelton Ralph Picke		„	Egeham.
Aylena de Maneghedene William, her son and heir Ricardus Anglicus	„	„	Maneghedene.
Albretha de Basingburne	„	„	Tackelay.
Walter Brun	„	„	London.
Martin de Capella	„	„	Allerburne.
Nicholas de Farnham Walter Le Fraunkeleyn	„	„	Grenefeud.
Alice de Oppenhore	„	„	Horton.
John de Pilessedisse	„	„	Dodesdene.
Geoffrey, son of Henry	„	„	Henlegh.
Simon the Chaplain, son of Richard de Burnham	„	„	Windesore.
John de Sto. Phileberto	„	„	Veteri-Windesore, and in Prestewyk.
William de Papewurth	„	„	Papeworth.

These names and places the reader will have no difficulty in identifying with surrounding localities in Buckinghamshire and Berkshire.

The nuns also appear to have held land in Datchet, of which they were unjustly, as they alleged (in a petition to King Edward III., printed in the *Monasticon*) disseised by the powerful Baron "Sire Hugh le Despenser le pere."

There were but five inmates in the cloisters when the dissolution took place, and the site was granted to Andrew, Lord Windsor.

Sir Thomas Smith, in the reign of Edward VI., obtained Ankerwyke by exchange. He resided on the site, and it was afterwards for many years the seat of the Salter family, from whom it was purchased by the Lee family, from whom it descended to John Simon Harcourt, who held it in or about 1823. The hall of the mansion, which was built on the original site of the conventual building by Lord Windsor or Sir Thomas Smith, still remains. (*Dugd. Monasticon.*)

I am able to lay before you a transcript of a deed relating to this house, which I believe has never been yet printed. It is numbered X. 7. in the collection of Charters presented to the British Museum by Lord Frederick Campbell.—

"Omnibus fidelibus sanctæ Ecclesiæ tam francis quam Anglis ⁝ *Lecia* priorissa de Ankerwuc et conventus ejusdem loci ⁝ Salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos sub hac forma conditionis finalem concordiam cum Willelmo filio Heliæ de Takeleia in Curia domini Regis iniisse quod prædictus Willelmus nobis concedit tres virgatas terræ cum pertinentiis in Takeleia tenendas de prædicto Willelmo et de heredibus suis libere et quiete pro servitio distincto in Cyrographo facto in Curia domini Regis die Sabbati proxima post festum sancti Laurentii martyris v° anno Regni Regis Ricardi. Sciendum etiam quod si heredes Ricardi Le Engleis prædictas tres virgatas terræ in Takeleia á nobis prædictis monialibus evincant et derement,* nullum escambium á prædicto Willelmo vel heredibus suis habebimus. His testibus. Avenello pincerna, magistro Willelmo de Sumercote, Magistro Reinero de Stanforde, Magistro Gervasio de hobregge, Roberto de alencun, Stace de kersinge, Andrea de Poilli, et multis aliis."

By this curious deed, *Lecia*, the Prioress of Ankerwuc, declares the substance of a final concord entered into by the convent with William, son of Hely of Tackley, in the Court of Common Pleas, whereby the said William grants to the convent three virgates of lands in Tackley, for a service set forth in the deed of conveyance made in the above Court on the Saturday after St. Lawrence's Day [10th August], in the fifth year of King Richard I. [A.D. 1194], with a clause that, if the heirs of Richard Le Engleis [see Ricardus Anglicus, on page 381 of these notes] deprive the Convent of the land, the Convent is not to claim redress from the said William or his heirs.

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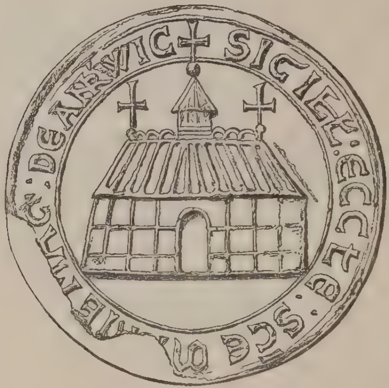
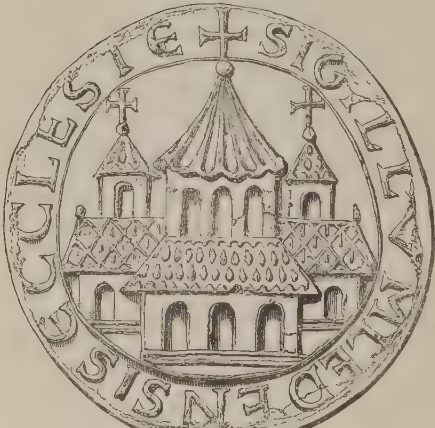
* For dirimant?


SIGILL: ECCLE: SCE MARIE DE ANKRWIC

SEAL OF THE CHARTER OF THE NUNNERY OF ANKERWYKE,
CO. BUCKS, A.D. 1194.

The Nunnery was founded and erected *temp.* Henry II.



SEAL OF LEDES PRIORY, CO. KENT, A.D. 1119.

To this charter, dated in the concluding years of the same century that witnessed the foundation and erection of the building, is appended a seal in pale green wax, bearing the inscription:—

SIGILL : ECCLE : SCE : M[AR]IE : MAG : DE ANK'WICK.

Sigillum ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ de Ankerwic.

The field of the seal is filled with an elevation of the principal building of the Convent—viz., the church or chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. This remarkable representation is undoubtedly as correct a picture of the actual first building, set up in the twelfth century at Ankerwic, as the relations between the arts of the architect and the seal-engraver can make it. We see here the thatched roof; the square, or rectangular ground plan; the centre doorway, with simple Saxon arch; the walls composed of panels of plaister, mud, or brick, enclosed within wooden framework, not very unlike the present cottage structures which are so prevalent in the county of Buckingham to this day; the bell-tower, with its thatched roof, and two lines of moulding or string-courses near its insertion into the roof, surmounted by a spherical boss or finial supporting a cross; the ridges of the roof are finished off with a hooped or engrailed line, which probably represents some kind of straw ornamentation applied to the edges, where the straws start from the central beam to pass down opposite sides of the sloping roof. Altogether, this is a very interesting picture of a modest nunnery of the twelfth century, and I leave those of your audience who study ancient religious architecture to explain, better than I can, the beauties of the structure. I send you a drawing in pen and ink, just roughly sketched four times the scale of the seal size. I send also a seal of *Ledes Priory*, county Kent, founded in 1119, and so contemporary with Ankerwyk. This latter seal, however, is more elaborate than that of Ankerwyk, although the conception is the same.

FACTS RELATING TO THE SIGNING OF MAGNA CHARTA, AND MAGNA CHARTA ISLAND.

BY THE REV. C. LOWNDES, M.A., F.R.A.S.

In carrying out the object for which our Society was founded, the Members have an opportunity of enjoying an excursion on the river which forms the boundary of the southern part of our county. Its beautiful scenery, which requires no encomium from me, has been faithfully depicted by the artist, the poet, and the historian. And thousands who, having no care to perpetuate their impressions on paper or on canvas, and have merely wandered from village to village, or pulled from bend to bend of the winding stream, have enjoyed its graceful forms and softened colours. The towns and villages on its banks, the homely life, the old-fashioned inns, the traces of English life of centuries back—all these give a strange charm to this river, which attracts visitors from all parts of the kingdom.

History informs us of many deeds of the past in connection with this river; and amongst them, not the least interesting and beneficial to Old England, is that which is said to have taken place on this island, on which we are now assembled, viz., the signing by King John of the Great Charter of English Liberties, distinguished in history by the Latin title of *Magna Charta.*

The result of the great political gathering which took place on this occasion, is an event ever memorable in the annals of England. Sir J. Mackintosh has justly said of it, "To have produced it, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England on the esteem of mankind." *

The causes which led to the concessions, dictated by the Barons and granted by John, and the effects they have produced, have been so recently and so lucidly laid before you by the Rev. J. R. Pretyman, a member of our Society, in his "Illustrations of English History," printed in the RECORDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, Vol. IV., p. 242, and by J. Parker, Esq., in his Paper on "Magna Charta," printed in the current number (p. 359) of the RECORDS, that I shall not refer to them; I will merely allude to the facts as they occurred.

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* Mackintosh's History of England, vol. i., p. 222.

King John ascended the throne on the death of Richard Cœur de Lion, who was slain by the hand of Bertrand the crossbowman before the wall of Castle Chaluz. The heir to the throne, the unfortunate Prince Arthur, who, with his lovely sister Eleanor, "the Pearl of Brittany," had been taken prisoners in the battle before the fortress of Mirabeau, A.D. 1202, was murdered by King John himself; while Eleanor, who, after the death of her brother, was the next heiress to the crown of England, was confined in Bristol Castle, where she remained a prisoner for life.

John's chief residence was at the Temple in London, where the royal treasure was deposited, and from whence "the writs to his lieutenants, sheriffs, and bailiffs were dated."* He was a great benefactor to the Temple; and was much influenced in all that he did by the Master of the Temple, Brother Amaric de St. Mawr. On his ascending the throne, most of the earls, barons, and free tenants swore fealty to him. But from the pride and cruelty of his temper, he soon became hateful to all his subjects. Differences also arose between him and the Pope; and the false and mean-spirited King held many conferences and negociations with the imperious and overbearing Roman Pontiff, in which the Knights Templars took an active part. Two brethren of the Order were sent by Pandolph, the Pope's legate, to King John, to arrange between them that conference which ended in the complete submission of the latter to all the demands of the Holy See. The Pope, in the first instance, laid his kingdom under an interdict, then he excommunicated him, and afterwards deposed him. He instigated Philip King of France to take possession of his kingdom, and thus a war between the two nations seemed inevitable. But the English people, however bitterly they hated the king, would not suffer invasion quietly. They flocked to Dover, where the English standard was, to defend their native land. John, by the advice and persuasion of the Templars, repaired to the preceptory of Temple Ewell, near Dover, where he was met by the Pope's legate, who intimidating him with exaggerations of King Philip's power, and his own weakness in the discontent of his barons and the people, discharged his commission so effectually that he persuaded him to take the most extraordinary oath in all the records of history, before all the people, kneeling, and with his hands held up between those of the Legate. He resigned his kingdom of England and Ireland "to God, to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to the Holy Roman Church his mother, and to his Lord Pope Innocent the Third, and his Catholic successors, for the remission of all his sins, and the sins of all his people, as well the living as the dead."* After this he had power only to hold his kingdom by the Pope's leave, and on payment of a tribute of a thousand marks yearly—700 for the kingdom of England and 300 for the kingdom of Ireland.

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* Acta et fœdera, tom i., pp. 165, 173, "Itinerarium regis Johannis," by T. Duff Hardy, published by the Record Commissioners.

The best and bravest of the earls, barons, and knights, were for some time faithful to their king; but, instigated by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, the originator and promoter of Magna Charta—they threw off their allegiance, raised the standard of rebellion, and became the foremost of those bold patriots who stood forth in the defence of their liberties. They assembled in Easter week a large body of men at Stamford; appointed Robert Fitzwalter their general, whom they called "The Mareschal," and styled themselves "The army of God and Holy Church."

John, having returned to the Tower, offered to refer all differences to the Pope alone, or eight barons—four to be chosen by himself and four by the confederates. This the barons scornfully rejected, and went to him, as Matthew Paris tells us,† "in a very resolute manner, clothed in their military dresses, and demanded the liberties and laws of King Edward the Confessor with others for themselves, the kingdom, and the Church of England."

The King promised to satisfy their demands; and

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* Matt. Paris (the monk of St. Albans), ad ann. 1213; p. 237.

† Matt. Paris, p. 253, ad ann. 1215.

William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who was the faithful attendant on the English monarch, and the constant mediator between him and his rebellious subjects, became security for the performance of his promise. The Earl, enjoying the confidence of both parties, was deputed to enquire what those laws and liberties were; and after having received at Stamford the written demands of the barons, he urged the King to satisfy them; but he swore that he would never grant them and reduce himself to slavery. Failing in his endeavours, he explained to the Barons the King's denial. The Barons' army then entered London (May 24th), where they were joyfully received; and then the Earl was again sent to announce the submission of the King to their demands.

John, attended by the Earl Marshall and Brother Amaric de St. Mawr, Grand Preceptor of England of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, retired to Old Windsor as a place of refuge and security against the growing power of the Barons. By the advice and the earnest exhortation of these two exalted personages, the King consented to sign Magna Charta.*

A conference between the two parties was appointed to be held on the opposite bank, called Runnymede —in Anglo-Saxon *Rhùn* and *Meae,* signifying the Council Meadow. I may here remark that Leland, the antiquary, gives the same derivation, and seems to favour the opinion of John of Beverly, "Pratum consilii quod antïquis temporibus, ibi de pace regni sæpius concilia tractabant:" *In ancient times the councils concerning the peace of the Kingdom was frequently assembled here.* A less probable derivation is from the races which are held there on the last Tuesday and the two following days in the month of August.

It is probable that Edward the Confessor held his *witan* or council at Runnymede during his residence at Old Windsor, and that the Barons chose this spot, as well on account of its previous associations with those very rights they met to assert, as because it was a convenient distance from Old Windsor, sufficiently near for the King, but far enough removed to prevent any treacherous surprise by his forces.

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* Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1215, pp. 253, 256.

On the morning of Friday, June 15th, A.D. 1215, the steady tramp of many horses and the well-known ring of hauberks,* foretokened the arrival at Runnymede of the Barons' army from the direction of Staines. It consisted of troops of mounted archers, and many companies of heavily-accoutred infantry, each led by a steel-clad knight with his distinctive pennon fluttering from his lance's head. The King and his retinue approached from Old Windsor. The two parties encamped apart like open enemies; "One army," as tradition goes, "lay in Long Mead, the other in Runny Mede next Egham." On the one side was the Mareschal Robert FitzWalter, supported by a great concourse of the nobility. On the other, the weak and unstable tyrant, attended by only some four-and-twenty persons of any note, many of whom despised him, and were merely his advisers in form. The names of the King's supporters are given by Roger of Windover. "Those who were in behalf of the Barons," he adds, "it is not necessary to enumerate, since the whole nobility of England were assembled in numbers not to be computed."

The terrified King was compelled to yield to the demands of the Barons who had got him into their power, and who, under the pretext of securing him from the fury of the multitude, conveyed him to this island, where on this stone, and very much against his will, he concluded the treaty by signing Magna Charta.

Some authorities, particularly the historians of the county of Surrey, assert that Magna Charta was signed at Runnymede, and maintain that their assertion is confirmed by the concluding passage of the document: "Dat' p' manum n'rum in prato quod vocat' Runimed' int' Windleshor' 't Staines, quinto decimo die Junii, anno regni 'nri septimo decimo:" † *Given by our hand in the meadow which is called Runnymede between Windsor and Staines on the* 15*th day of June, in the* 17*th year of our*

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* Hauberk, a coat of mail without sleeves. It extended from the throat to the thigh or knee, and was composed of interwoven links of steel.

† See "Fœdera," vol. i., pars. i., edit. 1816, in which are engraved facsimiles of Magna Charta from an original copy preserved among the archives of the cathedral church of Lincoln.

reign. But surely there is something due to tradition, and from the circumstance that the island was called the island of Runnymede, and that the document was probably prepared previously to the meeting of the two armies, we may infer that the actual scene of the ratification of the covenant by the royal signature was upon this island.

On the same day, time, and place, the King granted the "Carta de Forestæ," which is terminated by the same sentence; and on the 19th of June he affixed his signature to a writ, directed to the Sheriffs and others, for the election of twelve Knights in each county, to inquire into the abuses and aid in carrying into effect the provisions of Magna Charta. From this it may be inferred that the assembly at Runnymede continued several days; but it was no sooner dissolved, than the King threw off the mask which, with consummate hypocrisy, he had worn during the proceedings, and in a paroxysm of rage, as Lingard says, "he cursed the day of his birth, gnashed his teeth, rolled his eyes, gnawed sticks and straw, and acted all the freaks of a madman."*

Two years after the signing of Magna Charta this island was the scene of the peace made September 3rd, 1217, between the Earl Marshall—the Protector, on behalf of Prince Henry (afterwards Henry III.)—and the associated Barons, who had invited the Dauphin of France to seize with their aid the English crown.†

This small island is in the parish of Wyrardisbury—called Wraysbury—in our county, and is now attached, on the western extremity, to the main land. It formerly belonged to the Nuns of Ankerwyke, and passed into the possession of the Harcourt family; and G. S. Harcourt, Esq., built a cottage over the stone which tradition asserts as that on which the document rested when the King and the Barons affixed their signatures to it. The stone is in a painted chamber, with the shields of the Barons who signed the Charter emblazoned on its walls. It is fixed in a massive oak frame, and is inscribed, "Be it remembered that on this island, on the 15th of June, 1215, King John, of England, signed Magna Charta;

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* History of England, 4to, vol ii., p. 259; from Matt. Paris, "Historia Major," p. 254.

† Matt. Paris, "Anglica," p. 287.

and in the year 1834, this building was erected in commemoration of that great and important event, by George Simon Harcourt, Esq., Lord of the Manor, and then High Sheriff of the county." The cottage was formerly inhabited by a ferry-man, but for the last quarter of a century it has been a private residence, and the island is no longer a public resort for picnicing.

In "Curiosities of Literature" (vol. i. p. 10), the author relates that the Charter of King John was rescued by Sir R. Cotton, from a tailor's shears. Cotton MS. Julius C. iii., f. 1916, in the British Museum, contains a letter, of which the following is a copy:—

"Sir, I have heere the Charter of King John dated at Running Meade. By the first safe and sure messenger it is yours. So are the Saxon Charters as fast as I can copy them; but in the meantime I will close King John in a box and send him.—Your affectionate friend and servant, EDWARD DERING.

Dover Castle, May 10th, 1630.

Discovery by Sir R. C. at is tailors."

A proposal has often been made to erect a column as a memorial of this great event; but no effectual steps have been taken to accomplish this object. About the middle of last century the poet Akenside composed the following lines as an appropriate inscription for such a monument:—

"Thou, who the verdant plain dost traverse here,
Whilst Thames among his willows from thy view
Retires; O stranger! stay thee, and the scene
Around contemplate well. This is the place
Where England's ancient Barons, clad in arms,
And stern with conquest, from their tyrant King
(Then render'd tame), did challenge and secure
The Charter of thy freedom. Pass not on
'Till thou hast bless'd their memory, and paid
Those thanks which God appointed the reward
Of public virtue. And if chance thy home
Salute thee with an honour'd father's name,
Go, call thy sons; instruct them what a debt
They owe their ancestors; and make them swear
To pay it, by transmitting down entire
Those sacred rights to which themselves were born."

Such are the principal facts relating to the signing of Magna Charta—a Charter which secured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom, to the Clergy, the Barons, and the people; and which continues in force to this day. While it is a great enjoyment to us in the nineteenth century to look back on the past and dwell on the historical scenes of olden times, it is with increased pleasure and gratitude that we look upon the far brighter present of our national greatness; when the respective powers of our Royal and constitutional Queen and her subjects are equally balanced and distinctly defined; when the Earls, Barons, and Knights use their influence, both in public and in private, for the promotion of every good and charitable institution in the State; when the freemen and tenants endeavour to conform themselves to the laws of their country; and when the Bishops and Clergy, by their blameless and zealous lives, are unceasing in their efforts to advance the temporal and spiritual welfare of the whole community.

Proceedings of the Society, 1876.

The Annual Meeting and Excursion took place on Thursday June 8th. The Members and their friends met at Aylesbury, and started by the 9.20 a m. train for Bourne End, whence they embarked in a Saloon barge, "The Star of the Thames," and proceeded down the River Thames to Magna Charta Island, where it was proposed to hold the Annual Meeting The progress down the river was not so rapid as was expected, and therefore it was determined to hold the Meeting on board the barge.

The Ven. the Archdeacon of Buckingham was called upon to take the chair. The first business on the agenda was the election, or re-election of the Vice-Presidents. They were unanimously re-elected.

The Rev. C. Lowndes, the Rev. B. Burgess, and Rev. J. Wood, were then re-elected as Honorary Secretaries, the Rev. C. Lowndes as Treasurer, and the Rev. A. Isham as Auditor.

The Rev. C. Lowndes read the Report of the Committee:—

"Your Committee have the gratification of again presenting a favourable report of the progress of the Society. The list of members continues steadily to increase, the accessions to the list exceeding the loss by death and retirement.

"Your Committee have been deprived of the future aid of a most valuable member of its body, through the promotion of the Very Rev. Edward Bickersteth, D.D., to the Deanery of Lichfield. They cannot allow this opportunity to pass without expressing their deep sense of the interest he has always taken in the Society from its commencement, and the assistance he has rendered it by his presence at the annual meetings, and by his contributions to the Records. While, however, they very much regret the loss of him as a member of their body, they cannot but add their hearty and respectful congratulations upon his promotion, and hope that as he is still linked to them as a life member of the Society, they may have the honour of welcoming him at some of their annual meetings.

"Your Committee have much pleasure in reporting several gifts to the Society's museum. The Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield has made the following presentations: viz., a bronze figure of the Saviour, found in the sacristy of St. Mary's Church, Aylesbury, during its restoration; collection de la sine de Roches de la chaine de Mont Blanc; some medallions, fossils, and pamphlets

"The museum has also been enriched by Z. D. Hunt, Esq., with two cabinets full of fossils from the Portland bed and Kimmeridge clay near Aylesbury, and with the publications of the Palæontographical Society from the year 1849 to the year 1856."

On the motion of Mr. T. Lucas, seconded by Mr. McConnell, the Report was received and adopted.

The Rev. C. Lowndes then read the Treasurer's Report, which showed receipts by subscriptions in 1874, £61 12s. 6d.; 1875, £38 16s. The expenditure showed a total of £107 15s. 3d., leaving a balance of £7 6s. 9d. due to the Treasurer.

This report was also received and adopted.

The following gentlemen having been previously proposed and seconded at a committee meeting, were elected Members of the Society:—Mr. C. Lamborn, Bierton; Mr. S Grist, Bierton; Mr. W. F. Taylor, Bierton; Mr. R. S. Downs, High Wycombe; the Ven. the Archdeacon of Buckingham; Rev. T. Green, Stanbridge, Leighton Buzzard; Rev. E. K. Hanson, Stoke Mandeville; J. E. Frazer, Esq., Seabank House, Inverness; G. E. Burton, Esq., Dinton; E. W. Willmott, Esq., Eggington House, Leighton Buzzard; Rev. S. S. Crutch, Lee, Tring; Rev. G. A. Shaw, Aston Sandford; W. Wildes, Esq., the Moor, Wooburn, Beaconsfield; C. Threlfall, Esq., Wendover; Rev. A. T. Lloyd, Aylesbury.

The Rev. C. Lowndes said the Archdeacon being now a member of the Society was *ex officio* a Vice-president.

The Rev. C. Lowndes read a Paper on "The Facts relating to the Signing of Magna Charta." A vote of thanks was given to the Rev. C. Lowndes for his Paper.

The Rev. J. Wood read a Paper by Walter De Gray Birch, Esq., of the British Museum, on the Nunnery of Ankerwyke. A cast of the seal of the Nunnery was exhibited, and also a cast of the seal of the Priory of Ledes, in the county of Kent, of the same date.

J. Parker, Esq., of High Wycombe, exhibited two thumb signet rings, which were used in the early part of the 13th century. One of them was a massive ring in silver, and on the sides, in black letter, were the words "In domino confido;" the seal was a crown with initials below that could not all of them be satisfactorily deciphered. This ring was found in Marmerswell Field, High Wycombe. The second thumb ring, in bronze, which was of lighter make, had a deeply-cut capital T under a royal crown. It was found at Wycombe Heath, near High Wycombe. Mr. Parker also exhibited a parchment mandate of the possession of the church of Lansant (supposed to be in the diocese of Exeter), of the date of May 16, 1355, and issued by Pope Innocent. A vote of thanks was given to W. De Gray Birch, Esq., for his Paper, and to the Rev. J. Wood for reading it.

A description of the most interesting places on both sides of the river was given by Wm. Lowndes, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society

By the kind permission of Wm. Clifford, Esq., the party on their arrival at Magna Charta Island were allowed to land, and were welcomed, during Mr. Clifford's absence, by his nephew, R. C. Poulter, Esq. A cold collation having been provided by Leighton Brothers of Windsor, the party were soon at high festival under the old walnut tree on the lawn. The repast being ended, the Archdeacon read a letter which the Rev. C. Lowndes had received from Mr. Clifford.

"*Bettws Newydd, Usk, Mon.*, 30*th May*, 1876.

"My dear Sir,—I am very glad to hear that all your arrangements have been so successfully made, and hope that your expectations of a day's enjoyment may not be disappointed. The only regret about it we have (and it is a regret) is, that we cannot have the pleasure to be at home to receive you. We have, however, left directions that all the accommodation our little place is capable of shall be afforded you; and my nephew, Mr. Reginald Poulter, who is the son of one of your members, will be there to receive you, and see that our wishes are carried into effect. You will no doubt take a stroll into Ankerwyke Park, adjoining us, and inspect the ruin of the ancient Priory, and the celebrated yew and cedar trees, under which, tradition says, the sports of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn were carried on. If your friend Mr. Anderson, who occupies Ankerwyke, should not be able to be present to receive you, he will take care that full freedom is given to all your members for the purpose.

"I may notice a matter which may have an interest to some of you, if there is anything in it. We have been told by learned archæologists that in olden times a custom existed of giving a kind of rude consecration to venerated spots by surrounding them with a circle of trees after the Druidical manner, and that a circle of walnut trees was planted round the exact spot where the Charter was signed, at the time or soon after the event. You will observe that evidence of this circle is afforded by the existence of modern trees, which have been planted from time to time on the line of the original circle; and old people in our own time have described the stools of old trees which the existing trees are said to have replaced. Indeed, one Dendrologist told us we might claim the picturesque ruin on the lawn for one of the original trees; and that its antiquity might reasonably date with the signing of the Charter. No doubt that when your Committee are within the charmed circle, in full festival, you will be able to settle this great question; and with our best wishes for your complete enjoyment on the occasion, I remain, my dear Sir, yours truly, W. CLIFFORD."

Thanks were voted by acclamation to Mr. Clifford, and then the party entered the cottage to inspect the stone upon which the Charter rested when it was signed, and which is placed in a room appropriately fitted up, and decorated with the armorial bearings of the Barons. The stone is fixed in a massive oak frame, and bears the following inscription, "Be it remembered that on this Island, 25th June, 1215, John King of England signed Magna Charta; and in the year 1834, this building was erected in commemoration of that great and important event by George Simon Harcourt, Esq., Lord of the Manor, and the High Sheriff of the County."

By permission of J. Anderson, Esq., of Ankerwyke, it was intended to have paid a visit to the ruins of the old Priory, and the celebrated yew trees referred to in Mr. Clifford's letter; but time would not permit it. The party were therefore compelled to embark again on board "The Star of the Thames," and return to Windsor, whence they took the train home.

DESCRIPTION OF PLACES ON THE BANKS OF THE RIVER THAMES, GIVEN DURING AN EXCURSION FROM BOURNE END TO MAGNA CHARTA ISLAND.

BY W. LOWNDES, ESQ.

(*The Anastatic Sketches illustrating this Paper have been presented by Mr. Lowndes.*)

Bourne End is situated in the parish of Woburn, which probably derives its name from Wyburne, the bourne or burn of the Wye running through the parish. And Bourne End marks the spot where the bourne ends, and empties itself into the river Thames. As the history of Woburn has been described in vol. iii., p. 16, of the RECORDS, I will merely point out that the manor, at the time of the Norman Survey, was the property of Earl Harold. The Conqueror seized it, and bestowed it upon a relative, Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln; and Walter Deyncourt, a relation of the Bishop, held it under him; and it continued in the possession of his family until the year 1422. By marriage with Alice, the sole heiress of the estate, it devolved upon William, Lord Lovel, who died 33 Henry VI. At her decease, she having survived her son, Sir John Lovel, the property devolved upon her grandson, Sir Francis Lovel (9th Baron), who, being a favourite of Richard III., was made, by that monarch, Chamberlain of the Household, Constable of the Castle of Wallingford, and Chief Butler of England. On Jan. 4, 1483, he was created Viscount Lovel. During the reign of Richard, one William Colingbourne was executed under colour of rebellion, but in truth for the following distich of verses, which he had composed against Richard and his ministers.

> "The cat, the rat, and Lovel, our dogge,
> Ruled all Englonde under an hogge."

Viscount Lovel subsequently fought under Richard's banner at the battle of Bosworth, and was fortunate enough to escape with his life. From Bosworth he fled to Colchester, where he took sanctuary, thence to Sir John Broughton's house in Lancashire, whence he escaped into Flanders. There he was received by Margaret, Duchess of Flanders, the late king's sister; by whom he was sent into Ireland, to uphold the pretensions of Lambert Simnell. Thence invading England, his lordship is said to have fallen at the battle of Stoke, in 1487. Lord Bacon, however, says of him, in his history of the reign of Henry VII., "Only of the Lord Lovel there went a report, that he fled, and swam over Trent on horseback, but he could not recover the farther side, by reason of the steepness of the bank, and so was drowned in the river. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a cave or vault." Tradition states that he escaped to his seat at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, and secreted himself there, where he was sustained in a vault by the devotion of a female servant. This servant died suddenly without betraying the secret, when his Lordship was starved to death with a dog that was the associate of his captivity.

On the occasion of rebuilding a chimney at Minster Lovel, in 1708, "a large vault was discovered underground, in which was the entire skeleton of a man, as having been sitting at a table, with a book, paper, pen, etc.; and in another part of the room lay a cap, all much mouldered and decayed," which the family and others judged to be this Lord Lovel. "A melancholy period to the life and fortune of one of the greatest and most active noblemen of the era wherein he lived."

The estates in 2 Henry VII. were granted to Sir John Risley, Knt., the vast inheritance of the Lovels having been confiscated by an act of attainder. Dugdale, however, says that William, second son of William, Lord Lovel, had livery of Deyncourt, and that his wife died seised of it 4 Henry VII. Henry VIII., by patent (4 Henry VIII.), granted the Manor of Deyncourt to William Compton, ancestor of the Earls of Northampton, and a great favourite at court. He died in 1530, and at the time of his death was ranger of Windsor Great Park. His son, Peter, was a minor at the time of his death, whose wardship, during his minority, was committed first to Cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, who married him, before he was nineteen, to his daughter, Lady Ann Talbot. Peter Compton, however, died a minor, Jan. 30, 1544, leaving a son, Henry, who was summoned to Parliament from May

8th, 14 Eliz., 1572, to Feb. 4th, 31 Eliz., 1589, as "Henrico Compton de Compton, Chev$^{r.}$" He died 1589, leaving William his son and heir, who, in 1618, was created Earl of Northampton.

In 1596, Queen Elizabeth granted the perpetuity of the manor to Robert Spencer and Robert Atkinson, Esqres., extending to the value of £30 4s. 11d. By the marriage of Anne, daughter of Sir William Spencer, with Sir John Coodwin, the manors of Woburn Deyncourt and Bishop's Woburn became united in the possession of the Goodwins. Jane, the only daughter and heiress of Arthur Goodwin (grandson of Sir John), married Philip, Lord Wharton, Sept. 7th, 1637, who, on the death of Arthur Goodwin, succeeded to his estates. He attached himself to the Parliamentarians, and was lord lieutenant of the county. Being strongly attached to the party of William, Prince of Orange, he had the honour of entertaining that monarch at his seat, Woburn.

At his death (1695), the property devolved upon his third son, Thomas, who in 1706 was created Earl Wharton. On Jan. 1st, 1715, he was created Marquis of Wharton, and dying on April 12th following, was succeeded in his estates and honours by his son Philip. Philip, after leading a life disgraceful to a man and dishonourable to a Briton, died in misery and obscurity in the small monastery of St. Bernard, near Tarragona, in Spain, A.D. 1731. At his death, the estate was sold to J. Morse, Esq., from whom it devolved upon Peregrine Bertie, Esq. From the family of Bertie it was purchased by Mrs. R. Dupré, in the possession of whose descendants it now continues.

Nearly opposite to the spot where we embarked, an ancient British canoe and an iron axe were discovered in March, 1871. The discovery was duly noted, at the time, in vol. iv., p. 122, of the RECORDS.

The first objects of interest that presented themselves on leaving Bourne End were the picturesque church and village of Cookham, on the right, and the hills of Hedsor, on the left. Giving precedence to the Buckinghamshire side of the river, I will describe the objects on its banks. And first to be noticed is the castellated building erected by a former Lord Boston, as a residence for his shepherd or other labourer employed on the estate. Hedsor, Edisore, or Heasore, is "significant of the high cliffs, under which the river takes its silver winding way." The small parish of Hedsor contains 450 acres, of which 140 are arable, and the rest pasture and woodland. There is considerable difficulty in tracing the history of this manor, as it is not mentioned in the Domesday Book, and its early records are of very doubtful authenticity. Langley, in his history of the hundreds of Desborough (p. 174), states, "The first record I find is in 1223, when a fine passed between William de Hedsor and Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, who gave lands to the see." From 1282 till about the year 1457, the records relating to the manor appear to have been lost. In that year a family of Restwold was settled here, and in 1558 the manor was in the possession of William Hawtrey, Esq., Sheriff for Bucks that same year. In 1560 it was purchased by Roland Hynde, who, according to Langley, presented to the living in 1575. He died in 1608. The representatives of his son Roland, sold the manor and advowson to William Chilcot of Isleworth, Middlesex. He died in 1692, and Mary, his widow, survived till 1720, and from them the estate descended to the Parkers of Ratton, in Sussex. On the death of Mrs. Parker in 1764, the property was sold to William Irby, Lord Boston, from whom the present proprietor is descended.

The old Manor House, which was built by Roland Hynde in 1584, was pulled down about the year 1778, and a new one erected. This house has been likewise pulled down, and the present Lord Boston has erected another on the same site. The view from the terrace and the grounds is magnificent, embracing the old church tower of Cookham, the windings of the Thames, and a distant prospect of hill and vale which will challenge the admiration of every true lover of English scenery.

The Church is a small structure dedicated to St. Nicholas, and the presentation to it is vested in the Bishop of Oxford and Lord Boston; the latter having two turns to one of the former. The parish is small, and contained at the last census 225 inhabitants. In the church are some monuments to the memory of different members of the families of Hynde and Parker, and to some of the name of Ramus, who held the office of Page of the Bedchamber to George III. In the churchyard there is a magnificent yew tree, twenty-seven feet in circumference; and here also repose the remains of Nathaniel Hooke, the author of several works, the most celebrated of which is his "Roman History." From the Court Rolls Lipscombe has taken the following extract:—

"1605. Imprimis. We present that Thomas Reading, on St. Stephen's daye, in Christmas 1603, did serve the first dish of the second course to the table of Roland Hynde" (the lord) "at dinner-tyme, and did bring with him to the house of the said Lord, two henns, one cock, one gallon of ale, and two manchets of white bread: and also we present, that on the same day, after dinner the said Roland Hynde did render unto the said Thomas Reading, a sparrow-hawk, and a couple of spaniels, to be kept by the said Thomas Reading, at his cost and charges, for the service of the said Roland Hynde, according to the tenure of his lands."—(*Lips.*, vol. iii., p. 579.)

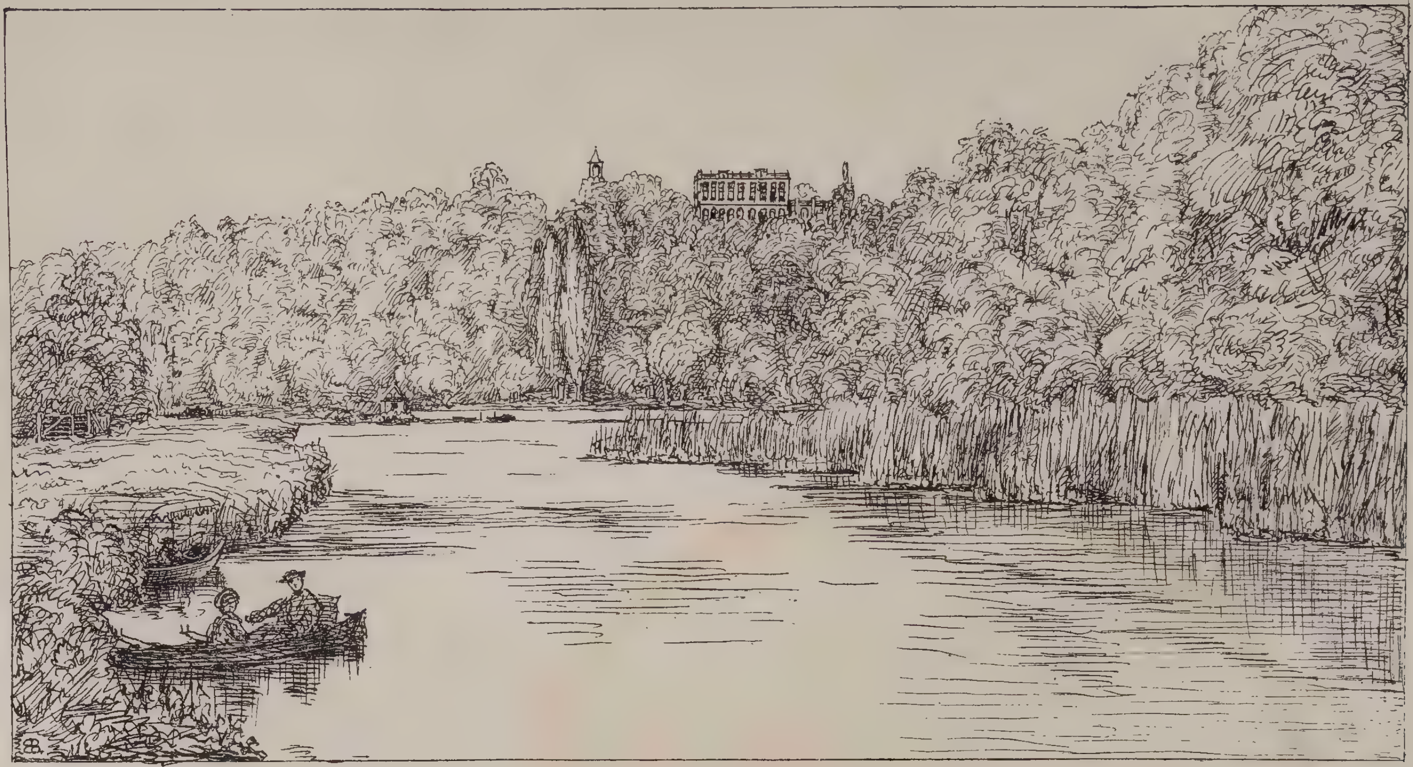
The farm held by this tenure is called Lambert Farm, but the above service has been commuted for a money payment.

On our right hand is Cookham, in Berkshire, situated on the road that formerly connected the Metropolis with the West of England. This road passed through both Cookham and Burnham, but when, by the erection of Maidenhead bridge, it was diverted from its original direction, and turned through the town of Maidenhead, these two towns degenerated into two small country villages.

At Cookham there was formerly a market, which, at the time of the Domesday Book, was valued at twenty shillings, a large sum in those days, and sufficiently indicative of the importance of the place. The market has been discontinued for about six hundred years. Two fairs, however, were held here on May 16th and October 11th, but they are now discontinued. The principal manor in Cookham has, from time immemorial, been vested in the Crown. The suit-holders, or those who hold suit-hold estates in the manor, pay a heriot of the best horse and saddle; or should the deceased not have possessed a horse, the representatives had to pay the best of his household goods and half a year's quit rent. Like all other tenants of a manor being of the ancient demesne of the Crown, they were exempt from serving on juries, and toll free in every market. The former exemption, however, no longer exists, it has been abolished by a recent Act of Parliament. The church is built in the Early English style, and has a good tower of flint at its west end. It is in the deanery of Maidenhead, from which place it is distant about three miles, and the presentation is in the gift of Mr. Rogers. In the church there are several monuments worthy of notice; amongst them is one to the memory of Sir Edward Stockton, a former vicar of this parish, who is styled "Pylgrym of Jerusalem, and canon professed of the house of our Lady, at Gisborough, in Yorkshire." In the north wall of the chancel there is an altar-tomb to the memory of Robert Peeke, "Master Clerk of the Spycery, under K. Harry the Sixt," 1517. There are likewise several good brasses and tablets to the memory of the families of Farmer and Tuberville. The manors are Great Bradley, Pinkneys, Bullocks, and Elynton. Great Bradley at one time belonged to the family of St. Quintin. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was granted by the Crown to Thomas Farmer. In 1705 it was purchased by the Tubervilles, and then passed into the possession of E. F. Colston, Esq., well known for his numerous and munificent benefactions to the city of Bristol.

Passing by Cookham we enter the New Cut, made in the year 1830, and thence into the Cookham Lock. The field, through which the cut was formed, is called Sashes, and at the formation of the cut a number of skeletons, Roman swords, and javelin heads were found; the latter are in the possession of Lord Boston.

We have now entered one of the most beautiful reaches of the Thames. On one side the river is bounded by lofty cliffs clothed with the thick woods of Cliefden and Taplow; on the other are richly cultivated fields, prettily situated houses, and bright and lovely gardens. As we leave the lock we notice the pretty house, well called Formosa, situated on an island of the same name, also an adjoining house, belonging to Lady Young, and which has been converted from an inn to the pretty mansion it now is. We next come to Bullocks, perhaps better known by the name of Whitesplace. The mead adjoining the river is Bartle Mead or Battle Mead, so called from its having been the scene of a skirmish between the Royalists and Parliamentarians, during the time of the



Cliefden.

Civil Wars. From this spot the vast cliffs of Cliefden, the property of the Duke of Westminster, are best seen. The house was built by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of Charles II. He spent large sums of money upon it, and those portions of his work which still remain evince the taste he had in decorating it. Evelyn speaks of Cliefden as "the stupendous natural rock, wood, and prospect of the Duke of Buckingham." Hither the Duke brought the Countess of Shrewsbury after his fatal duel with her husband. Pepys, in his Diary, writes thus, Jan. 17th, 1667-8:—

> "Much discourse of the duell yesterday, between the Duke of Buckingham, Holmes, and one Jenkins, on one side, and my Lord of Shrewsbury, Sir John Talbot, and one Bernard Howard, on the other side; and all about my Lady Shrewsbury, who is at this time, and hath for a great while been, a mistress to the Duke of Buckingham. And so her husband challenged him, and they met yesterday in a close near Barne-Elmes, and there fought; and my lord Shrewsbury is run through the body, from the right breast through the shoulder; and Sir John Talbot all along up one of his armes; and Jenkins killed upon the place, and the rest all in a little measure wounded. This would make the world think that the king hath good counsellors about him, when the Duke of Buckingham, the greatest man about him, is a fellow of no more sobriety than to fight about a mistress."

Lady Shrewsbury was Anna Maria, daughter of the Earl of Cardigan, and is said to have held the Duke's horse, in the disguise of a page, whilst he was fighting with her husband. She married, secondly, George Rodney Bridges, son of Thomas Bridges of Keynsham, Somerset, and died April 20th, 1702. The property of this Mr. Bridges subsequently, at his death without issue, devolved upon one who has rendered the name of Rodney illustrious in the annals of English history. On March 16th, 1667, the Earl died of the wounds he had received in the duel, but the Duke was granted a pardon before he died, namely, on the 5th of February succeeding the day of the fight. In 1681, fourteen years after this occurrence, the poet Dryden published his "Absolam and Ahitophel," in which the well-known character of Zimri was drawn for the Duke of Buckingham. The Duke was so enraged at this, that he called upon the poet, and inflicted a severe castigation upon him; at the same time, however, he presented him with a large sum of money, telling him that he gave him the beating for his impudence, but the gold for his wit.

Cliefden subsequently became the seat of George, Earl of Orkney, a celebrated military commander under John, Duke of Marlborough; and more recently of Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of King George III. The place has been rendered classical by Pope, who immortalized "Cliefden's proud alcove." Here also, on August 1st, 1740, was first played the national air of "Rule Britannia." It was composed by the poet Thomson, and set to music by Dr. Arne. In 1795, the house was burnt down through the carelessness of a maid-servant. In 1830, it was rebuilt by Sir G. Warrender, and was again burnt down, but was rebuilt, in 1849, by its late owner, the Duke of Sutherland, after a design by Barry. The estate belonging to Cliefden consists of about 436 acres, situated in the three parishes of Taplow, Hitcham, and Hedsor; the site of the house and grounds, including the park, occupying about 136 acres. The view from the grounds is magnificent, "unequalled along the Thames, except that" from the North Terrace at Windsor Castle. The woods around it abound with primeval yew-trees. They hang from the chalk cliffs, "their twisted roots exposed to the air, and cling and cluster round the winding walks and steep narrow staircases, which lead in every direction to the heights above." The wild clematis also hangs from the trees, and in their shade the atrossa, belladonna, and other rare plants, grow luxuriantly. In the cliffs there are several small caves, once inhabited, it is said, by robbers, in one of which a worthless tradition tells that the Princess Elizabeth took refuge from her sister Mary. Near the waterside a spring rises in a rocky basin, and falls into the river, near which the Duke of Buckingham built a picturesque cottage for the benefit of visitors.

The next place is Maidenhead, in Berkshire, part in the parish of Cookham, and part in the parish of Bray. Its name is said to have been derived from the fact that the head of one of the eleven thousand virgins, who were murdered with St. Ursula at Cologne, was preserved here. But as the town is called Maydenehithe, or Maidenhithe, in the earliest records, and as "hythe" means a landing-place on the banks of a river, it may be inferred that Maidenhead means the maidens' landing-place. As, however, Ashmole gives the first meaning to the name, we should not, perhaps, destroy the romance that is attached to the place by this derivation. From a very early period a bridge across the Thames has existed here. In 1297, there is a record of one of wood, for the repair of which a tree was annually allowed out of Windsor Forest.

In 1352, John Husband gave a sum of money for the endowment of a chantry; and some of the principal inhabitants were incorporated as the fraternity or guild of the brethren and sisters of Maydeneth or Maidenhithe. Henry VI., by charter dated 1452, places the fraternity under the direction of the chantry-priest, who was to be called supervisor or overseer. It appears, from the charter, that one of the principal objects of the guild was to keep Maidenhithe bridge in repair; for which purpose a toll was granted at the bridge, and a toll for all commodities sold in the market. By this charter a weekly market, on Wednesdays, was also granted. After the Reformation, the town was incorporated anew, by the name of the Wardens and Burgesses of Maidenhead. King James II. granted another charter of incorporation, with the style of mayor, bridge-masters, and burgesses. Two of the burgesses, who are eleven in number, are elected bridge-masters. The high steward, the steward or recorder, the mayor, and the mayor of the preceding year, are justices of the peace in the borough. The mayor is likewise clerk of the market, coronor, and judge of a court which used to be held once in three weeks, for the recovery of debts not exceeding £20, which court was granted by James II. There was formerly a gaol for felons here. The corporation have a seal bearing the effigy of a maiden's head, with an inscription round it. On Jan. 5th, 1400, the bridge was the scene of a fierce skirmish between the new-made king (Henry IV.) and the partizans of Richard II. The Duke of Surrey (Richard's brother) held the bridge till night, so as to allow his friends to make good their retreat, and then, says the chronicler, stole away quietly, taking away with him all of the town, horse and foot, to serve King Richard.* In 1688, the bridge was fortified to impede the progress of the Prince of Orange towards the Metropolis, and its defence entrusted to some Irishmen; but some of the townsmen of Maidenhead, beating a Dutch march, in the night, so scared the Irishmen that they abandoned their post in great precipitation, leaving their cannon behind them. The present bridge was erected in 1772, from the designs of Sir Robert Taylor, at the cost of about £20,000.

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* Chron. de Traison et Mort de Rich. II

At the Greyhound Inn, in the town, Charles I. was allowed to see his children in 1647, July 16, on which occasion the town was strewn with flowers and decked with green boughs. He passed two days with them, and during his stay he drove with them to Caversham, where they dined, and were entertained at the expense of the Parliament. The Greyhound Inn is now a small shop, the proprietor of which still kindly shows the small room, on the ground floor, in which the ill-fated monarch took leave of his family.

Another inn, called the Bear Inn, is also worthy of a passing remark, on account of the following story, which is told in connection with it:—

> "James I. was out hunting one day in the neighbourhood, and being hungry, rode forward before his hounds to look after some luncheon. In his search he came to the Bear, and asked the landlord for something to eat. The host replied that he should be happy to provide him with anything he could, but that the Vicar of Bray and his curate were upstairs, and had ordered everything in the house, but perhaps they would let him (the King) sit down with them. The King, unknown to the landlord, went upstairs and asked permission for him to be allowed to share with the guests. This permission was given but glumly by the vicar, and cordially by the curate. During dinner the King told many stories that made them all roar with laughter. At last came the bill; the King, searching his pockets that were empty, exclaimed he had left his purse behind, and could not pay. The vicar angrily protested that he would not pay for him; but the curate expressed his pleasure in being able to do so, in order to make some return for the amusement he had given. The bill was discharged, and the party went on to the balcony in front of the house. The huntsmen coming up at this time, and seeing the King, went down on their knees in the street, as was then the custom. The vicar, overwhelmed with confusion, flung himself at the King's feet, and implored forgiveness, to which the monarch replied, 'I shall not turn you out of your living, and you shall always remain Vicar of Bray, but I shall make the curate a Canon of Windsor, whence he will be able to look down both upon you and your vicarage.'"

Bray in Berkshire formerly gave its name to a hundred co-extensive with the parish; it is in the deanery of Maidenhead, and is said to have been the Bibracte of the Roman Itinerary. It is within the liberty of Windsor Forest, contains 16,462 acres, and has a population of 6714. This parish consists of four divisions, viz., Bray, Maidenhead, Touchend, and Water Oakley. From time immemorial the principal manor has been in the hands of the Crown. The custom of the manor is, that in default of male heirs, lands are not divided among females of the same degree of kindred, but descend wholly to the eldest. In the parish there are seven manors or reputed manors, the particulars of which it is unnecessary to give here.

Archbishop Laud is said to have once held a farm in this parish.

The person who has conferred most fame upon this little parish is the celebrated vicar Simon Alleyn, who is said to have changed his religion four times. Fuller, in his "Worthies," thus describes the parish and the parson:—

> "Bray, a village well known in this county, so called from the Bibraces, a kind of ancient Britons, inhabiting thereabouts. The vivacious vicar thereof, living under King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, was first a Papist, then a Protestant, then a Papist, then a Protestant again. He had seen some martyrs burnt (two miles off) at Windsor, and found the fire too hot for his temper. This vicar, being taxed by one for being a turncoat and an inconstant changeling,—'Not so,' said he, 'for I always kept my principle, which is this—to live and die the Vicar of Bray.' Such many, now-a-days, who, though they cannot turn the wind, will turn their mills, and set them so, that wheresoever it bloweth their grist shall certainly be grinded."

Some doubt has been thrown, of late years, upon the truth of this story, and the list of the Vicars of Bray has been quoted as an authority upon the point. But the story is undoubtedly believed in the parish, and such cases were not at all uncommon in his day.

The author of the song of the "Vicar of Bray"* is unknown, but is supposed to have been a friend who visited Tonson at his house near Bray, namely, Downe Place. The date of the song is placed in the seventeenth century, though no doubt it has reference to the Vicar, to whom allusion is made by Fuller. In the church a flat slab of marble, without a name or date on it, merely a coat-of-arms, is pointed out as covering the last resting-place of Simon Alleyn.

Pursuing our course we come to Monkey Island, which derives its name from a fishing-house erected on it, by the third Duke of Marlborough, the rooms of which were formerly decorated with paintings of monkeys in different attitudes. The house has had several additions made to it at different times; one of the rooms still retains the original paintings. It is now a river-side public-house, the resort of fishermen. Near it, on the same island, is a small building, the upper story of which is wainscoated of the early part of the Georgian period.

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* Bray has also the unenviable notoriety of having once had one of its constables hanged at Kingston, in Surrey, for highway robbery.—*Brit. Ant. Berkshire.*

Next is Queen's Island, on which is situated Down Place, formerly the residence of Jacob Tonson, a publisher, and the Secretary of the Kit-cat Club. This club derived its name from one Christopher (better known as Kit) Catt, a pastrycook, at whose house in Shire Lane, London, the original meetings took place, and Kit was in the habit of supplying the members with mutton pies.

"Genial Jacob," for so he was called by Pope, succeeded in collecting around him some of the chief talent of his day, and the Kit-cat Club frequently met at his house. The club consisted of noblemen and gentlemen, at the head of whom was the Earl of Dorset. It originated as a convivial association about the time of the Revolution; but as the members of it were, generally speaking, of a Whiggish turn of mind, it gradually assumed a political character. Addison, Steel, Walpole, and Marlborough, firm and fast friends of the Hanoverian succession, were amongst its members. It is principally, however, from their portraits that the fame of the reunions of the Club has been handed down to posterity. These were painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and were all of one size, viz., 28 inches or 29 inches by 36 inches. This size has since been called the Kit-cat size. The best portrait is that of Tonson himself, who is represented holding a copy of "Paradise Lost," the copyright of which he held. He also published Dryden's works, but liberality towards authors does not appear to have been common with the publishers of that day, if we may judge from the following story. When Tonson, on one occasion, put the screw on too tight, the poet sent him some verses beginning a satire, thus:—

"With leering look, bull-faced, and freckled hair,
With two left legs, with Judas-coloured hair,
And frowsy pores that taint the ambient air."

These three lines he sent to Tonson, with the gentle addition, "Tell the dog that he who wrote this can write more." Tonson did not wish to see more, and Dryden obtained what he wanted.

On the Buckinghamshire side of the river the square tower of Dorney Church and the gables of Dorney Court are seen embedded in trees. At the time of the Domesday Survey the manor of Dorney was in the hands of Milo Crispin, and subsequently it formed part of the possessions of the neighbouring Abbey of Burnham. It is now vested in the family of Palmer. In the reign of Charles II., Roger Palmer, the eldest son of Sir James, was owner of the property, and his wife was Barbara Villiers, Baroness Nonsuch, Countess of Southampton, and Duchess of Cleveland. Her husband was created Earl of Castlemaine in Ireland, and died without issue. From Sir James Palmer the present proprietor of the manor is descended. On 6th of March, 1572, Laurence Montague was presented to the living of Dorney. His son Richard was born there in or about the year 1578. He was educated at King's College, Cambridge, was made Dean of Hereford in 1616, and published an answer to Selden's "History of Tithes," in 1621. He engaged in a controversy with the Papists, and published a piece entitled "Appello Cæsarem," for which he was summoned before the House of Commons, and subjected to £2000 bail. He was made Bishop of Chichester in 1628, and translated to Norwich in 1638, where he died in 1641. In addition to the above, he wrote several works on the doctrines and discipline of the Church.

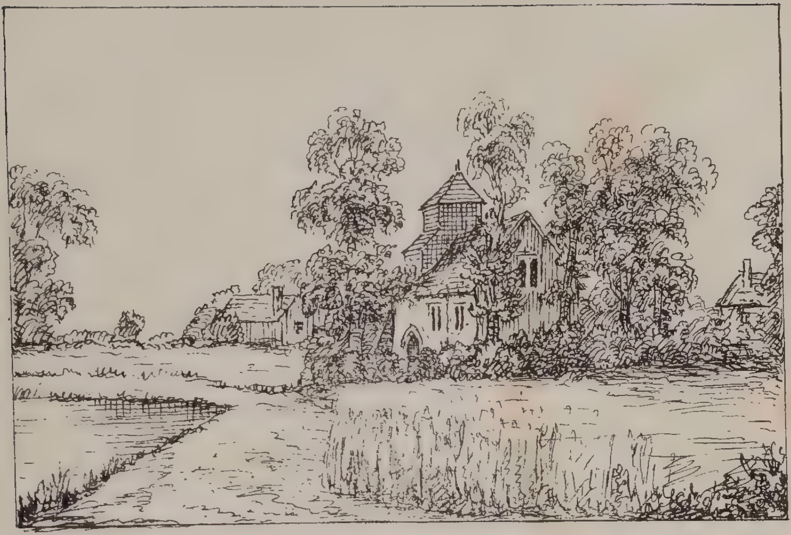
The next house is Water Oakley, the seat of Roger Eykyn, Esq., late M.P. for New Windsor. Passing the Willows, a small picturesque house, we came to Surley Hall, well known to all Etonian oarsmen. At a short distance from the (Bucks) shore is the primitive church of Boveney. This church, surrounded by elms, is of an ancient date, and of small dimensions. The exterior is covered with plaster and whitewash, and its interior merits attention from its massive timbers which support the tower and the roof. In one of the window-sills in the chancel are a few remains of ancient sculptured figures which, no doubt at one time, ornamented some portions of the building. The Church is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and was originally an independent chapelry, maintaining its own poor, repairing its own highways, appointing its own warden, and contributing nothing to the repair of the Mother Church; but always in the hands of the Vicar of Burnham. The Rev. E. Hawtrey, who died in or about the year 1669, a Fellow of Eton and Vicar of Burnham, presented the advowson to Eton College, when Boveney Chapel was annexed to Burnham as its mother church, and styled a chapel-of-ease thereto. In 1737 an Act of Parliament was passed to make it a distinct cure, but the want of a sufficient endowment prevented the Act from taking effect. It is in the presentation of Eton College. Cole, the celebrated antiquary, was Vicar of Burnham from 1774 till the time of his death in 1780.

Boveney is in the hundred of Burnham. At the time of the Domesday Survey it was in two distinct tenures. One portion belonged to Reinbald, the King's priest, and the other to Gilo the brother of Ausculf, with Girard a tenant under him. The manor in the reign of Henry VII. was in the family of Peule, from thence it passed to the families of Lovelace, Dayrell, and Villiers.

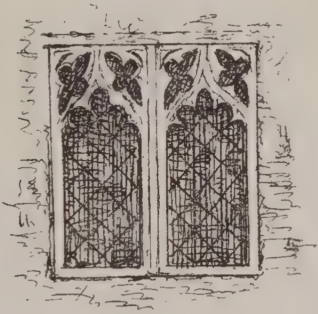
At the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries the fishery of Boveney was the property of the Abbess of Burnham, and valued at forty shillings per annum. In the 27 Henry VII. the Lady Margaret, Abbess of that monastery, demised all the water and fishing in the Thames to William Tudway, yeoman of Eton, for twenty-one years. At the surrender of this demise the Queen granted a further term of twenty-one years to Nicholas Tudway. In 1567 it was granted by the Queen on a lease of twenty-one years to John Bell, but this lease does not seem to have taken effect, for in the same year it was demised to John Smyth for twenty-one years, from the end of Nicholas Tudway's time.

Going through Boveney Lock we soon catch a view of the Sanatorium, erected for the accommodation of the Eton boys. It is a commodious brick building on the Dorney road, of a modern date.

There was formerly a sanatorium in the year 1563, in the parish of Cippenham. It was probably erected in consequence of the plague, which broke out in the month of June of that year. It appears that the College tenant at Cippenham was bound by his lease to take in any of the scholars for six months for one quarter free of charge;



Boveney.



Window in North Wall of Boveney Chapel.

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but if they stayed longer he was to have some reasonable remuneration for their maintenance. These farmhouse lodgings did undoubtedly take some in, as the following extract, taken from Collier's Guide to Windsor, will show:—

" To Shepparde's wife for making clean the house at Cipnham for the children, iii June	xiid.
For straw for the children's beds there	iiiid.
Given to Fisher the carrier, for his paynes labouring at Cipnham, about provision for the children of the colledge there, iii de of June	xiid.
Given to the good man Shepparde, of Cipnham, for his paynes coming to the Colledge of Duffelde, being at Cipnham ...	xiid.
To Nicholas Stourton for Chewte, and his expenses keeping the house at Cipnham	xiiiid.

Passing by Clewer on our right, we come within sight of Eton and Windsor. *Eton*, previous to the foundation of its College, was of slight importance; and very little of its early history has escaped the wreck of time. But since the foundation of the College, the history of that institution, and that of the town, have been inseparably connected.

Eton College owes its foundation to the munificence of the last of our Lancastrian sovereigns—Henry VI. The date of the foundation is 1441, and the principal design of Henry in the establishment of it, appears to have been the education of scholars in grammar, who, being properly graduated in academical degrees, might be qualified for Holy Orders, and thus added to the list of the clergy. Fuller remarks:—"It was high time some school should be founded, considering how low grammar learning then ran in the land."

By the charter it was provided that the College should be called "the College of the Blessed Marie of Etone, beside Wyndesore"; and by the same instrument it was provided that the College should be "edified of the most substantial and best abyding stuffe of stone, ledd, glass, and iron"; and that the walls of the said College, the outer walls, and the walls of the "Garden about the Precincte be made of hard stone of Kent."

The original endowment was for seven sad priests, four lay clerks, six choristers, twenty-five poor grammar scholars, and twenty-five poor men, whose duty it was to pray for the king. The present establishment is a provost, vice-provost, fifteen fellows, a head master, a lower master, assistants, seventy scholars, seven lay clerks, and ten choristers, besides the inferior officers, and servants for the domestic offices of the collegians. There are two sets of scholars—those on the foundation termed Collegers, and those not on the foundation, termed Oppidans; the present number of both being about a thousand. The building was commenced in 1442, and in the following year, 1443, in order to furnish the scholars with every facility for completing their education, Henry incorporated two small Hostles, or Colleges, at Cambridge, and from this incorporation arose King's College. The statutes of the College are very similar to those of Winchester; the one set being transcribed without any material alterations from the other. In 1449 the present arms were granted to the new foundation.

Henry seems to have taken a great deal of interest in its success. It is said that he frequently spoke to the scholars, whom he met, about being docile and gentle, and that he frequently gave them presents of money, in order to secure their good will. The reign of his successor, Edward IV., brought, however, trouble to the College, for not only was its building checked, but a Bull was issued by Pope Pius II., for suppressing it, and merging it with the College of St. George, at Windsor. Edward also took from the College the lands of Deerhurst, which Henry had conferred upon it, and gave them to the College of Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire. They were, however, subsequently restored by Henry VIII. During the latter years of his reign, the College was threatened with Dissolution by Act of Parliament; but the death of the Prince averted its destruction. It was specially excepted in the Act for the Dissolution of Colleges and Chantries, in the reign of Edward VI., and since his time the College has enjoyed uninterrupted freedom and prosperity. Amongst those who have held the position of Provost of Eton have been some of the most celebrated men of the time in which they lived. First and foremost was William Westbury, Provost of the College in 1447, Head Master 1443. The name of Westbury is now almost forgotten, but every true-hearted Etonian will respect the name of one, who stood by his Alma Mater in the darkest hour of her history. When

Edward IV., influenced probably by dislike to Waynfleet, the zealous adherent of the House of Lancaster, and perhaps also at the instigation of the Earl of Warwick, had determined on the suppression of Eton, and its union with his new College at Windsor, Westbury gallantly stood up for Eton, and was one of its most able, ardent, and effectual friends. In consequence of his protest against the union and the incorporation, the King applied to Pope Paul II., acknowledging that he had been misinformed in the premises, and praying for a dissolution of the union. The Pope accordingly issued his commission to Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, to act in the business as the case might appear to require. The Archbishop summoned the two Colleges before him, when Westbury "*se totis viribus opposuit*" for the rights of the founder. In consequence of this, the dissolution of the "Bulla Unionis" was sent from Rome to the Archbishop. Edward then—July 17, 1468—made certain remunerations, if not restorations, for the violence he had done to the College.

The next is Roger Lupton, who exchanged with King James the site and circuit of St. James' Hospital, in London, for other lands. Upon this site St. James's Palace is built.

In 1547 Sir Thomas Smith was Provost. He was not only one of the Revisers of the Book of Common Prayer, but was also Secretary of State to King Edward VI., and Elizabeth, and Ambassador to France. His successor was Henry Cole, who changed his religion three times. Born Roman Catholic, he became Protestant in Henry VIII.'s reign, and Papist again under Mary. He accommodated his opinion to the times.

Sir Henry Saville, founder of professorships of astronomy and geometry at Oxford, was a Provost of Eton.

Sir Henry Wootton, an eminent statesman of the time of James I., the friend and companion of Isaac Walton.

Provost Stuart was Clerk of the Closet to Charles I., and his successor, Francis Rous, was one of Cromwell's upper House of Parliament.

To enumerate the names of its most celebrated students and scholars, would be to enumerate the chief statesmen and scholars who have distinguished themselves in the history of England.

The day for the election of scholars to King's College, Cambridge, takes place at the end of July, when twelve of the head boys are put on to succeed as vacancies occur. Eton also sends two scholars to Merton College, Oxford, where they are called Postmasters.

One old custom formerly connected with Eton, but now abolished, was the procession made every third year on Whit Tuesday to a tumulus near the Bath road, which has acquired the name of Salt Hill. This procession was called the Montem, and the chief object of it was to collect money for salt, as the phrase was, from all who were present, and from passengers along the road. On that day persons of fame and station (many of them old Etonians) witnessed the procession; and Royalty frequently was present on that occasion. I quote from Brande's Popular Antiquities (vol. i. 434; Bohn's Ed.) the following account of it taken from one of the "Public Advertisers" in 1778, and which is supposed to be the oldest printed account of the ceremony.

> "On Tuesday, being Whit Tuesday, the gentlemen of Eton School went, as usual, in military procession to Salt-hill. This custom of walking to the hill returns *every second year* (since every third year), and generally collects together a great deal of company of all ranks. The king and queen, in their phaeton, met the procession on Arbor-hill, in Slough-road. When they halted, the flag was flourished by the ensign. The boys went, according to custom, round the mill, etc. The parson and clerk were then called, and there these temporary ecclesiastics went through the usual Latin service, which was not interrupted, though delayed for some time by the laughter that was excited by the antiquated appearance of the clerk, who had dressed himself according to the ton of 1745, and acted his part with as minute a consistency as he had dressed the character. The procession began at half-past twelve from Eton. The collection was an extraordinary good one, as their majesties gave each of them fifty guineas. By six o'clock the boys had put off the finery of the day, and appeared at absence in their common dress."

It is said that the salt-bearers filled the mouth of any countryman—when he had given them a trifle—with salt, if he asks for anything in return.

This curious custom had, no doubt, its origin in the election of Boy Bishops, but into the details of which we cannot enter now. It was abolished in 1847, on the representation of the Master of the College to her Majesty and the Government, that its celebration was attended with certain inconveniences. The salt collected on these occasions was to pay the first boy his expenses at King's College, Cambridge, or other college.

Another old Eton custom, now abolished, was that of hunting the ram. For an account of this we are indebted to "Huggett's Collections," now in the British Museum.

> "It was an ancient custom for the butcher of the College to give on the election Saturday a ram to be hunted by the scholars; but, by reason (as I have heard) of the ram's crossing the Thames, and running through Windsor market-place with the scholars after it, where some mischief was done, as also by long courses in that hot season, the health of some of the scholars being thereby thought endangered, about thirty years ago the ram was ham-strung and, after the speech, was with large clubs knocked on the head in the stable-yard. But this carrying a show of barbarity in it, the custom was entirely left off in the election of 1747; but the ram as usual is served up in pasties at the high table." (Anno 1760.)

Browne Willis derives this custom from what took place in the manor of East Wrotham, Norfolk, which belongs to the College, where the lord of the manor after the harvest gave half an acre of barley and a ram to the tenants. If the tenants caught the ram, it became their property; if they failed, the ram reverted to the lord again.

This seems to be a reasonable explanation of the custom, for in the "Gentleman's Magazine," August, 1731, p. 351, we find the following:—

> "Monday, Aug. 2, was the election at Eton College, where the scholars, according to custom, hunted a ram, by which the Provost and Fellows hold a manor."

The old part of the College is built principally of red brick with stone dressings, and chimneys elaborately ornamented. It consists of two quadrangles.

The First Quadrangle has the Clock Tower, and is on the East side.

On the North side is the school called the Lower School.

On the West is the Upper School.

The Chapel is the most prominent feature of the South side.

There is also a small Quadrangle which is known by the name of the Green Yard, and upon this open the entrances to the hall and the provosts' and fellows' suites of apartments.

The new buildings contain some good dormitories and studies for the boys, and in addition to these there is a valuable library.

The College Chapel is supposed to stand upon the site of the old Parish Church of Eton. It was restored in 1843, by Mr. Shaw. The present Parish Church was erected in 1855.

Passing through the lock, we come to the Playing Fields, intersected by the Chalvey brook. The water of this small stream was once considered beneficial for the eyes; and the source of it is called Queen Anne's Well, from the fact that that Queen, and also Queen Charlotte, were wont to have the water brought from it to Windsor Castle.

In mentioning Eton, we cannot pass over in silence the Castle and Town of New Windsor, with which Eton is connected by a bridge.

New Windsor is a Parliamentury borough, of 10,114 inhabitants, and returning one Member to the House of Commons. It is chiefly celebrated for its Castle, one of the residences of the Sovereigns of England from the time of the Conquest. Ashmole, in his History of the Order of the Garter, states that the town of Windsor was of Saxon origin, and it was named by them Wyndleshora, from the winding banks of the river upon which it is situated. The first authentic notice that we have of the place is from the donation of it, which Edward the Confessor made to the monks of Westminster (as the Charter expresses it), "for the Hope of Eternal Reward, the Remission of all his Sins; the Sins of his Father, Mother, and all his Ancestors, to the Praise of Almighty, etc." The monks do not seem to have enjoyed it long, for William the Conqueror, in the first year of his reign, being enamoured with the situation, invited the abbot and monks to accept in exchange for it Wokendune, in Essex, a mansion called Ferings, with certain sokemen and their lands, one freeholder, and three houses in Colchester; since which time it has been in the hands of the Crown. The king being thus possessed, forthwith built a castle upon the hill, which in the Domesday Book is said to have contained half a Hide of Land, and is there noticed to be "parcel of the Manor of (Clivore) Clewer." William I. and his son Rufus are said to have resided there occasionally; but Henry I., after keeping his Christmas of 1105, and Easter of 1107 at Old Windsor, removed his court in 1110 from Old to New Windsor, having just rebuilt and beautified the Conqueror's castle at the latter place. Having kept the Whitsuntide of that year at his new residence with great state and splendour, he seems to have made it one of his principal residences. It was at New Windsor, in 1112, that he married his second queen, Adelaide, or Adelicia, daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Lancaster. In the Charter of Peace made between Duke Henry, Henry II., and Stephen, this castle is described as Mola de Windesor, the fortress of Windsor. In 1212 King John kept his Christmas there, and in 1215 that monarch betook himself to Windsor, after the signing of Magna Charta. Edward I. and Edward II. were frequently at Windsor, and Edward III. was born there, from which fact he is called Edward of Windsor. This last prince rebuilt the Castle, with the exception of the towers at the west end of the Lower Ward, viz., the Bell Tower, Garter Tower, and Salisbury Tower; and his love for the place of his nativity induced him to do what he could towards the adornment of the Castle. The celebrated William of Wykeham, one of the King's Chaplains, and subsequently Bishop of Winchester, was one of the superintendents of the work. The other superintendent was Robert de Bernham; and a grant of the same fee was allowed to both, viz., one shilling a-day while they were at Windsor; two shillings a-day when they went elsewhere about that affair; and three shillings per week to his clerk.

In 1344, Edward is said to have built a chamber, which he called the Round Chamber, 200 feet in diameter.

In 1359, the works under the direction of Wykeham, were commenced, and the King took down the old buildings, built other fair and sumptuous works, and for that purpose employed the best and most skilled workmen. In the following year, 360 men, diggers and masons, were impressed at the King's wages for the work of Windsor Castle. They were impressed by virtue of a warrant directed to the several Sheriffs, with command, under a £100 penalty, to send them to Windsor, the Sunday after the Feast of St. George, whence they were not to depart without Wykeham's leave; security having been first taken by the Sheriffs, and returned into Chancery. Of these workmen, London found 40; Essex with Hertford, 40; Leicester with Worcester, Cambridge with Huntingdon, 40; Kent, Gloucester, Somerset with Devon, and Northampton, one with another, found also 40 apiece. And it was also further ordered that the workmen who absconded, might be apprehended, and confined in Newgate. Many did abscond. The plague having carried off a great number of the King's workmen in 1362, writs were issued to the sheriffs of the different counties to impress 302 masons and diggers of stone. The counties of York, Salop, and Devon, were to send 60 men each; Derby, Nottingham, and Lancaster, 24 each; and Hereford, 50. In 1363, the edifice was ready for glazing, and of twenty-four of the glaziers that were impressed for the King's service, twelve were to be sent to work at Windsor. The stone of which the buildings were formed was dug out of the quarries of Wellesfor, Newel, Carby, and other places. Very few commissions were issued after 1369, and none after 1373, so that it may be presumed that this noble work was then completed. The edifice comprised the Great Hall of St. George, the lodgings on the east and south side of the upper ward, the Keep or Tower, in the middle ward, the Chapel of St. George, and the houses of the custos and canons in the lower ward, with the whole circumference of the walls, with the towers and gates.

Henry VII. made considerable alterations, adding the stately fabric adjoining the King's lodgings in the upper ward.

Henry VIII. rebuilt the great gate at the entrance of the lower ward.

Edward VI. and Mary made also improvements in the Castle; and to

Elizabeth we are indebted for the terrace walk on the north side of the Castle.

Charles II. repaired some of the buildings which he found in a very dilapidated condition, and during his reign, Windsor was his chief summer residence.

In 1687, James II. received the Pope's nuncio at Windsor, to the no small umbrage of the people.

William III. resided here occasionally.

Queen Anne was also partial to the place.

The two first Georges, however, preferred the palaces of Hampton and Kensington to Windsor.

George III. was very fond of Windsor, and frequently walked on the terrace in the evening, attended by his daughters and courtiers. His son,

George IV., altered and modernized the Castle. Wyatt, or Wyatville, was his architect It is to be regretted that the restoration of its Gothic architecture was not deferred to later times, when Gothic architecture was better understood.

To enter into the history of each part of the building is beyond the limits of this paper. I may add, however, that the four towers facing the approach by the river are known by the names of the George IV., Cromwell, Brunswick, and Prince of Wales' Towers. The prominent feature of all is the Round Tower, or Keep of the Castle. This structure was formerly the residence of the governor or constable of the Castle, and the prison of distinguished captives of olden times. John, King of France, and David, King of Scotland, were prisoners here in the time of Edward III. James I., King of Scotland, was also confined here in Henry IVth's reign. From the window of his cell, one morning, he espied a young lady gathering flowers in the garden beneath. She was Jane Beaufort, the daughter of the Duke of Somerset. The monarch fell in love with her, and subsequently married her. Earl Surrey was likewise imprisoned here for eating flesh in Lent. But the most celebrated building connected with the castle is St. George's Chapel. It was designed by Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, in the reign of Edward VI. He died in 1481, and the completion of the work was superintended by Sir Reginald Bray, who afterwards built the fine chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster. The bishop was the first Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and lies buried in the south aisle of the chapel. Close to St. George's Chapel, is a tower in the lower ward of the Castle, called the Winchester Tower. This tower was formerly the residence of William of Wykeham, and of Wyattville. Upon it are the words, "*Hoc fecit Wykeham.*" Edward III. translated this inscription—"Wykeham made this;" and felt much incensed at the architect endeavouring to take the honour of building the stately edifice to himself. He therefore called upon Wykeham for an explanation. The architect, seeing how matters stood, explained to the King that he was quite mistaken, that the inscription meant, "*This work made Wykeham.*" "This work was the origin of Wykeham's greatness." The explanation seems to have met the approval of the sovereign, as we hear nothing more of the matter. Successive sovereigns have added to the beauty of St. George's Chapel; but there is not time to dwell upon their alterations or additions.

The three towers which we noticed as we approached the Castle from Boveney, are the Bell, or Cæsar's Tower, Garter Tower, and Salisbury Tower. Beneath the former there was, in olden times, a dungeon, the prison of the Castle; from it a subterranean passage is said to communicate with Burnham Abbey, about three miles distant, and on the opposite side of the Thames. There is little doubt that the passage, whatever be its termination, was constructed in order to facilitate the escape of the garrison at a period of anticipated peril. The curfew bell erected upon it gives the name to the tower. The Garter and Salisbury Towers form, perhaps, the oldest parts of the building.

The order of Knights of the Garter was first instituted at Windsor, and the castle and chapel form the head-quarters of that celebrated order. A flight of stone steps, called the Hundred Steps, leads from the street to the castle on the west side; close at the foot of the steps there was formerly a small house, the reputed habitation of Shakespeare's Mistress Page: it is now pulled down. At the foot of Peascod Street formerly stood the inn known as the Duke's Head. It derived its name from having been the house of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Thither Charles II. used to come from the castle, and thence the two walked to Filberts, the residence of Nell Gwynne.

Leaving the lock, and passing beneath Victoria Bridge, erected in 1851 from the design of Page, we come to Blackpots, where formerly stood a fishing-house, frequented by Isaac Walton, who frequently fished here with his friend, Sir Henry Wootton, the provost of Eton. This house is now also the residence of the present provost.

We next come to Datchett, which is in the hundred of Burnham. It was towards Datchett that Falstaff was being conveyed in the buckbasket, when he was thrown into a ditch. The spot, which tradition states as the place of his ducking is at the end of Sheet Street, Windsor, which would be on the direct road from Windsor to Datchett.

The manor was conveyed in 1335 by Edward III. to William de Montacute, and from him it passed to Sir John Molyns. In 1558 it was leased to Sir Maurice Berkley, and Charles I. conveyed it to Sir C. Harbord and others, by whom it was conveyed to Sir William Wheeler. It then passed into the family of Wase, and is now in the hands of the Duke of Buccleugh. The advowson belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor. A bridge across the Thames was constructed here in the reign of Queen Anne, which fell down in 1795. Subsequently one, part of wood and part of iron, was erected at the expense of the counties of Buckinghamshire and Berkshire. This latter bridge was pulled down in 1851. The wooden portion belonged to Bucks, that of iron to Berks. In former times horse races were held on Datchett Mead, and Charles II., who seems to have been partial to the place, frequently attended them. The prize on those occasions was a bell. Opposite to the foot of the old bridge there was formerly a footpath leading to Frogmore. At the Windsor end of this path there used to be a leafless stump called Hearne's Oak. This was not the tree to which allusion is made in the "Merry Wives of Windsor," but nevertheless for years it was called by that name. Hearne was a keeper in Windsor Forest in the time of Queen Elizabeth. For some fault having been dismissed, he committed suicide by hanging himself on a tree. His unappeased spirit is still said to walk beneath its shadow every night.

Leaving Datchett and passing beneath the Albert Bridge, erected in 1851, we come to Old Windsor Lock. We can see but little of this village, but the church stands behind the group of trees, yews and elms, that form so picturesque an object in the landscape.

Old Windsor is about two and a half miles from New Windsor. It was formerly an ancient town, and at the Domesday Survey it had ninety-five houses paying gable-tax to the Crown. The manor belonged once to the Saxon kings, who had a palace here; and here Edward the Confessor held his Court, as also William I. When

Henry I. moved his Court hence to New Windsor, the old palace was neglected, and eventually fell into decay. The site on which it stood is now merely a matter of conjecture, all trace of it having disappeared. The old church still stands, and in the churchyard adjoining is a tomb inscribed to the memory of Mary Robinson. She was a frail and fair lady, an actress, who obtained some notoriety at the close of the last century, by her clever impersonation of the character of Perdita, in Shakespeare's play of the "Winter's Tale."

At a short distance from the river formerly stood King John's Hunting Lodge. There is an underground passage running from this place, which has been traced in the direction of Windsor Castle, and in it fragments of early English pottery were found.

Passing by Beaumont Lodge, once the residence of Warren Hastings, but now a Roman Catholic College, we come to the Bells of Ouseley, a riverside inn, noted for the accommodation it affords to visitors. On arriving at Magna Charta Island, the termination of our excursion, we were kindly welcomed, in the absence of W. Clifford, Esq., by his nephew, Mr. Poulton. The history of this island and the mead on the opposite side of the river, called Runnymede, together with the account of the Priory of Ankerwyche, I leave to others to describe; feeling assured that full justice will be done to these interesting places, and the spirit-stirring associations connected with them.

MAGNA CHARTA ISLAND.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY THE REV. J. R. PRETYMAN, M.A.

(*Continued from page* 358.)

SUCCESSIONS TO THE ENGLISH THRONE.

It is remarkable that both the royal families of Tudor and Stuart ascended the English throne in violation of statute law.

The Tudors claimed by their descent from John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford. This person was his mistress; but on his subsequent marriage with her, their children were made legitimate by an Act of Parliament of Richard II., in which, however, their succession to the throne was expressly barred. Henry VII. was born of Margaret Beaufort, great-grand-daughter of John of Gaunt and this Catherine Swynford.

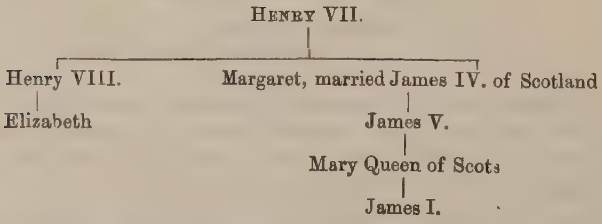
The following is their genealogy:—

JOHN OF GAUNT=CATHERINE SWYNFORD
John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset
John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset
Margaret Beaufort
who married Edmund Tudor.

It was, however, agreed between the chiefs of the White and Red Rose parties, during the usurpation of Richard III., that Henry Tudor, son of Edmund, should, if he succeeded in deposing Richard III., ascend the throne, and marry Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV., and consequently the heiress of the crown.

In spite, therefore, of the Act of Richard II., expressly barring the succession against the descendants of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford, their great-great-grandson succeeded to the throne in the person of Henry VII. With the view of strengthening the position of Henry VII. on the throne, an important Act of Parliament was passed by him, to which frequent reference has been made in subsequent times. This Act was to the effect that no one obeying a *de facto* King of England should be liable to punishment for treason, in the event of that King's deposition by another claimant of the Crown. This has always been regarded as a very wise enactment, and with good reason. The succession of James I. to the throne of England was also in direct contrariety to the law. Henry VIII. was empowered by Act of Parliament to determine (or, as lawyers say, to limit) the succession to the throne by any deed which he might execute, as by a will signed by his hand. In the exercise of this power he made a will settling the succession, first upon his own children, and next, failing their issue, upon the heirs of his younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, instead of the heirs of his elder sister, Margaret, wife of James IV., King of Scotland. Notwithstanding, however, this statutable limitation of the crown by Henry's will, James VI. of Scotland (who was great-grandson of the aforesaid Margaret, Queen of Scotland) succeeded to the English throne by the general consent of the nation. Thus the authority of Parliament was, in this instance, violated. A quibble was indeed raised by the lawyers at the time of James's accession, to the effect that Henry's will was not duly signed; but it was a mere quibble, unworthy of notice.

The relationship of Elizabeth to James I. was as thus:—



Thus Elizabeth was first cousin, twice removed, to James I.

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION SEEN IN THE REBELLION.

An eminent author observes: "The freedom of religious opinion inculcated by the Reformation, was calculated inevitably to extend itself also to State affairs."

This remark is a *key-note* in the history of modern Europe since the Reformation. Hume speaks of an universal fermentation of mind about the beginning of the seventeenth century." Of this intellectual activity the Reformation was a principal cause. To it was, in great measure, owing the movement in favour of *civil* liberty under the Stuarts, which ended in the Revolution of 1688. The habit of discussing opinions, and of calling authority into question in religious matters, would invariably extend itself to civil and political affairs.

The truth of this remark is confirmed by the fact that those countries in which the Reformation took root, such as Holland and England, became the seats of civil liberty, while, on the contrary, those countries where Romanism has prevailed, such as Spain, Italy, and France, have been noted for the despotic character of their Governments.

CONNECTION OF EVENTS IN THE REBELLION.

The Long Parliament met November 3, 1640, and the King raised his standard August 23, 1642; so that the conduct of the Parliament drove the King, *in a year and ten months,* to take up arms against it.

During this year and ten months a great number of important events took place, of which the principal were as follows, viz.—

The execution of Lord Strafford, May 12, 1641.

The passing the Act declaring that Parliament shall not be dissolved except by its own consent, which is regarded as the overthrow of royal authority, May 10, 1641.

Acts abolishing the Star Chamber and the High Commission, July, 1641.

There were other minor Acts passed this year, tending to the removal of grievances and the diminution of regal power, some being directed against the Established

Church. In fact, in the course of this year 1641, Charles I. conceded all the demands of the Commons, satisfied the more moderate part of the nation, and began to turn in his favour the tide of popularity. Moreover, by his journey into Scotland in August of this year, and the satisfaction he gave the malcontents there, he appears to have brought that nation into tranquillity under his government.

On his return to London in November of this year (1641) he was received with signs of affection, and everything seemed to promise a settlement of the disputes between the King and his people. It was evidently on account of the good understanding now beginning to spring up again in the nation, and with the purpose of resuscitating popular distrust and ill-will towards the King, that Pym and those who followed him (for at this moment Pym was undoubtedly "master of the situation") brought forward, passed, presented to the King, and, before he could reply to it, published to the nation, the famous Grand Remonstrance and Petition, December 1, 1641.

It was a most offensive manifesto, totally uncalled-for by Charles's recent conduct, a manifesto which could not fail to irritate in the highest degree a sensitive and high-tempered King, and which was exactly calculated to revive feelings of resentment and alienation among the people. It consisted of no less than 206 Articles, bitterly recounting every harsh or illegal act that had been done by the Government since the King's accession.

It had exactly the effects which it was calculated to produce—it set the mobs of London insulting the Bishops and assembling in a tumultuous manner about the Palace of Whitehall, where the King was then residing; while the conflicts which daily took place between this threatening multitude and the King's body-guard, who were posted for the defence of the palace, tended still more to raise ill-blood among the people. On the other hand, it evidently drove the King and his advisers into extreme measures, for only a *month* afterwards he made that fatal attempt *to seize the five members in the House of Commons, January* 4, 1642.

This proceeding, very much coloured in the accounts which the House published concerning it, and exaggerated and misrepresented in report, set everything in a flame, and it soon became clear that a civil war must be the result. Henceforth, till the King raised his standard, *Aug. 22nd* in that year, the time was passed on the part of the Commons in making exorbitant demands upon the King, especially for the command of the *militia*, and by both parties in preparations for war, which were hardly disguised. The Commons seized the Tower of London with all its ammunition, and kept the King out of the fortified town of Hull, which he had attempted to secure. They passed a Bill giving themselves the control of the militia, and when the King had refused his assent to it, they nevertheless directed that it should be carried into effect, thus usurping an undoubted prerogative of the Crown in the most flagrant manner (May 5th, 1642).

Hereupon it is to be observed that Hyde, Falkland, and other moderate members go over to the King.

The Parliament follow up their aggression by voting that an army be raised, appointing the Earl of Essex Captain General.

This was on the *2nd of August*, and on the 22nd the King, now forced to appeal openly to arms, raised his standard at Nottingham.

The first engagement took place at Edge Hill, in Warwickshire, on the *23rd Oct.*, 1642, but was indecisive in its results. Next year, *Sept. 20th*, 1643, the first Battle of Newbury was fought, without much effect on either side, but with the loss of Lord Falkland to the King's army and counsels. In the following year, 1644 (July 2nd), took place the Battle of Marston Moor near York, in which, chiefly through the aid now given by the Scots to the Parliamentarian army, Prince Rupert and the Royalists were totally defeated. This battle lost York to the King.

On the *27th Oct.* in the same year (1644) occurred the *second battle of Newbury*, which was at the time indecisive, but which led to the most important result in the NEW MODELLING of the army of the Parliament. This *new modelling* of the army, being quite a crisis in the war, deserves particular attention.

The history of it is as thus:—Cromwell and some leading men of his party who were engaged in the battle, considered that the Earl of Manchester who commanded and the other generals of his party (the Presbyterian) did not push their advantages as they might have done, and they suspected that they were not desirous of hastening the conclusion of the war by routing the King's army. They therefore determined to take the command of the Parliamentarian forces from Manchester, Essex, and the officers who acted with them, and lodge it in their own hands. We shall soon see how they effected their purpose. Meantime, in January 30th, 1645, three months after the second battle of Newbury, negotiations were opened at *Uxbridge* for a treaty of peace between the King and Parliament; but as the demands of the Parliament required nothing less than the abolition of Episcopacy, to which Charles was conscientiously attached, the suppression of the Liturgy, and the absolute control of the army and navy, the negotiations, after lasting about three weeks, were broken off without any result. About six weeks after this (April 3rd) Cromwell and his party carried out their plan of superseding the Earls of Manchester and Essex, by the celebrated "SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE," which ordained that no Member of Parliament should in future hold any military office or command. This ordinance effectually deprived Essex and his colleagues of their military posts, while Cromwell himself and a few officers of his own party, who like him were Members of Parliament, and *whom he wished to retain in the Army*, were specially excepted from the operations of the ordinance. Hence by this manœuvre he contrived, while excluding the principal officers of the other party, to keep himself and his friends in their military command. The army, now commanded by Fairfax, with Cromwell, the really leading spirit, immediately under him, was otherwise remodelled, so as to be composed chiefly of Independents, men animated by the sternest fanaticism, and prepared to go all lengths in hostilities against the King. The Cavaliers called this formidable host, in derision, the "*new Noddle,*" instead of the "new Model," but they soon found that their witticism was misplaced. For up to this time the Royalist forces had maintained almost an equality with their opponents, and had balanced their loss at Marston Moor and elsewhere by several important successes, especially in the *West*. But a little *more than two months* after the "Self-denying Ordinance" and the "New Model of the Army," occurred (June 14th, 1645), the battle of Naseby, so fatal to the Royalist fortunes. This was Charles I.'s last pitched battle; and the remainder of the war was nothing but the successive capture of all the Royal garrisoned forts and towns in the West, North, and South of England; *the surrender of Bristol*, Sept. 10th, 1645, by Prince Rupert, after a feeble defence, being the most considerable of those final blows to the King's power.

Finding his affairs desperate, Charles, in the next year, left Oxford (which had been his principal head-quarters during the war), and surrendered himself to the Scotch army, near Newark, May 5th, 1646, *about a year after Naseby*. The Scots used all their endeavours to induce the King to take the covenant, as the condition on which they would stand by him and support his cause; but failing, after many efforts, to extract this concession from him, and having received from the English Parliament one half of the £400,000 which they claimed for their assistance, the Scots delivered up the King to the Commissioners of the Parliament, January 30th, 1647, that is, a little more than half a year after he had placed himself in their hands. Charles was now sent by the Parliament to Holdenby House, in Northamptonshire. Whilst he was there, great disputes broke out between the Parliament, which was almost wholly Presbyterian, and the army, which was as decidedly Independent. These disputes chiefly arose from the determination of the Parliament, (1st) to require every officer in the army to accept the Presbyterian Church polity; (2nd) to disband a great part of the army; and (3rd) to send the remainder, officered by Presbyterian commanders, to Ireland, which had been in rebellion since 1641. With the view of gaining their point against the army, the leading party in the Parliament proposed to secure the authority of the King's name in their favour; and in order that they might conveniently come to an agreement with him, they resolved to bring him up from Holdenby to some place near London.

Hereupon the army party, of which, as you know, Fairfax and Cromwell were the two chiefs, took the bold step of seizing the King's person, and thus preventing the Presbyterian majority in Parliament from securing him on their side. A party of horse, under Cornet Joyce, suddenly presented themselves at Holdenby, June 4th, 1647 (about half a year after the King had been delivered by the Scotch to the Parliament), and took possession of his person. This act of the army-party leaders is to be noticed as the most decided instance that had yet occurred of the rupture between the army and the Parliament, and of the supremacy which the former was beginning to obtain over the latter. In a few weeks the army-leaders lodged the King at Hampton Court; and here took place the remarkable attempt of Cromwell and his friends to bring him to terms with them independently of the Presbyterian or Parliamentarian party.

Charles entertained their proposals and negotiated with them, but at the same time carried on a correspondence with their rivals the Parliamentarian chiefs. He unfortunately had such confidence in the strength of his own position, as being courted by both parties, and in his own diplomatic skill, as to suppose that he could play off the one party against the other, and induce each party to compete with the other in offering terms to secure his adhesion. The detection of these dealings on the part of the King decided the army party to break off all negotiations with him, and so threatening became the conduct and language of the soldiers around him, that Charles resolved on making his escape from Hampton Court. He fled towards the south, but was captured by Colonel Hammond, and placed in Carisbrook Castle on November 14th, 1647, *i.e.*, about half a year after he had been seized by the army at Holdenby. From his imprisonment at Carisbrook to his execution at Whitehall (January 30th, 1649), there intervened about a year and two months.

The most remarkable incident during his captivity at Carisbrook was the *Treaty of Newport*, between the *Parliament* and the King, which was opened September 18th, 1648, and ended November 27th following. The state of affairs which attended the beginning, continuance, and failure of this treaty must be considered, in order that we may understand the significance of the occurrence itself. By this time the army had greatly overborne the Parliament, which had become very desirous of throwing off the yoke of the military powers. To effect this purpose, the

Parliament proposed to make peace with the King, so that they might have him on their side against the army.

Cromwell, with many of the military leaders and a considerable portion of the army, being now absent from London, and engaged in crushing a Royalist-Presbyterian insurrection of Scots under Duke Hamilton (who, by the way, was defeated at the Battle of Preston), the Parliament, regarding the opportunity as favourable for opening negotiations again with King Charles, set on foot the treaty.* Charles, after much debating of the points submitted to him, agreed to most of the terms demanded by the Parliament. He consented—1st, to leave the militia to its disposal; 2nd, to commit to their hands the reduction of Ireland (which had been in rebellion and confusion since 1641); 3rd, to pass an Act of Oblivion; and 4th, to allow for a limited time the Presbyterian system to be established in England—though he did not entirely accept their proposals about religion.

On December 5, the Parliament votes "that the King's concessions were sufficient grounds for a settlement." Thus everything seemed to bid fair for a pacification. But here the army, which had by this time returned from its expedition, openly interfered with the strong hand to prevent the accomplishment of the treaty; and on the next day after the above-mentioned vote (December 6th, 1648), a Colonel Pride, acting under the orders of the army chiefs, came with a body of soldiers to the House, took into custody forty-seven of the members as they were entering, and excluded ninety-seven others, all who were thus treated being the most favourable to a reconciliation with the King. This notable proceeding received the name of "*Pride's Purge*." The House thus reduced, and now known as the "Rump" Parliament, being quite under the dictation of the army, quickly reversed all the recent proceedings in favour of treating with the King, voting on December 13th that the late treaty (of Newport) was "dishonourable and dangerous," and on the 23rd of that month, that the King should be brought to trial as guilty of treason towards the people. Next month, January, 1649, they appoint the Court of

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* On this occasion Charles again committed the error of spinning out the negotiations, when despatch was indispensable to his interests.

Justice to try him, with Bradshaw for its president. The King is brought three times before it (January 20th, 22nd, and 23rd), but refuses to acknowledge its jurisdiction. He is condemned, January 27th, to be put to death, and the sentence is carried into effect January 30th, 1649.

Notes on the Rebellion.

The three more *immediate* causes of the Rebellion against Charles I. were: (1) the religious opposition of the Puritans; (2) the conspiracy among the adherents of the King in the year 1641, for bringing up the army to overawe the Parliament, the plan of which the King was known to have countersigned; and (3) the arrest of the five members.

There are a few leading points to be attended to in this history which will help to explain its events.

(1.) We observe that, as usually happens in the progress of revolutions, the more moderate party that opposed the Court were, at each successive crisis, overborne by the more violent. Thus, early in the Rebellion, the extreme party, headed by Pym, Hampden, Cromwell, and Ireton, urged on in Parliament the measures which drove the King to take up arms, and prevailed over the more moderate opponents of the Court, such as Falkland, Hyde, and a few who went with them. These latter wished that opposition to the King should cease after that he had conceded the demands originally made upon him; but now that the passions of men had been thoroughly heated, the majority were indisposed to follow temperate counsels.

When the war had begun, the more violent men, such as Cromwell, Ireton, and Vane, ultimately gained the ascendency over the more moderate, such as the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, and others, carried the war to extremities, and prevented all the numerous attempts at a reconciliation, such as the Treaty of Uxbridge, from being successful. Again, when the King was in captivity, the more violent party broke off the Treaty of Newport, which had nearly been concluded with him by the more moderate party; and, finally, the party that were determined upon his death, triumphed, as we know, over those who wished to treat him with more lenity. The same repeated predominance of violence over moderation is to be observed in the different stages of the great French Revolution.

(2.) In religious matters the Presbyterians were at first the dominant party; but afterwards, the Independents, who were more turbulent and fanatical, and who had greater influence upon the army, gained the ascendency.

(3.) We may observe that in the course of the rebellion, the army gained the entire ascendency over the Parliament.

In revolutions it usually happens that the power of the sword ultimately predominates. Such was the case in the civil wars of Rome, and in the French Revolution. Observe that the magnates of the army in our rebellion twice coerced the Parliament by open force, by "purging" it, as they said—that is, by violently ejecting from it all who were their opponents. At last Cromwell, whose ascendency was immediately owing to his success in the field, having with the concurrence of the principal officers forcibly dissolved the remainder of the House of Commons, proceeded to establish a military dictatorship in his own person.

(4.) The violence of the measures of the Rebellion, and in particular the murder of the King, led to the wonderful reaction which took place in favour of the monarchy. The ardent loyalty of the Convention Parliament which restored the King, and still more, the enthusiastic obsequiousness of the next Parliament, form a striking proof of the force of this reaction.

(5.) The extravagance of the religious sectaries, and the constant controversies which were carried on, wearied and disgusted the nation, and disposed it to the restoration of the Church of England.

Thus both in civil and ecclesiastical revolutions extreme violence defeats itself, and often ends in a return to the original status of things.

Notes on the Latter Part of Charles the First's History.

The history of the time between the King's surrender of himself to the Scots, May 5th, 1646, and his execution, January 30th, 1649—a period of little more than two years and a half—is very important, as showing the state and the conflict of parties, and the causes which led to the death of the King, and the establishment of the Commonwealth. So complicated a passage of our history can only be understood by a study of its details.

With regard to the causes which brought the King to the scaffold, the able author of the "Pictorial History" says: "The pen of an industrious writer might fall from his hand in despair if he undertook to detail at length the numerous subsidiary causes which brought about the tragical catastrophe."

One of the chief of these causes was the prevalence in the army of the violent party called "the Levellers," who first came into prominent notice during the King's stay at Hampton Court, in the autumn of 1647. His party gave much trouble even to Cromwell, who appears to have felt himself compelled to fall into their designs against the King, in order that he might preserve his own ascendency.

These "Levellers" were advocates of the wildest kind of republic, looked upon the King as a serious obstacle to their plans, spoke of him as "Ahab;" and so early as during the stay at Hampton Court, openly demanded his blood. This party was, without doubt, mainly instrumental in bringing the King to the scaffold.

Another main and original cause of the King's death, was, it must be admitted, his own want of good faith and straightforwardness of conduct, which prevented each party from trusting him. The want of confidence felt in the conduct he would probably pursue, if restored to the exercise of regal authority, induced the different parties who, at various times negotiated with him, to demand terms so high, that he would not grant them. It was his detected duplicity in holding correspondence with the Parliament and the Scotch Presbyterians, at the very time he was in treaty with Cromwell and the officers at Hampton Court, that led thelatter to renounce all ideas of holding further dealings with him. And the King himself helped to thwart the success of his negotiations with Cromwell and his party, by the delays which he interposed in treating with them, and by the higher tone which he assumed towards them, when he began to feel confidence that he should bring to a successful issue his negotiations with the English Parliament and the Scotch Presbyterians.

Afterwards, while the Presbyterian Parliament were endeavouring to make terms with him at Newport in the autumn of 1648, Charles still resorted to his inveterate practice of spinning out negotiations, and haggling about conditions, in the hope that he should be able to profit by the divisions existing between his adversaries, and so escape from some of the required concessions. The consequence of this conduct was that, when at last he had come to an agreement with the Parliamentarians at the Treaty of Newport, and had satisfied their demands, it was too late! The army had now returned from the expeditions it had been making in the North of England, in Scotland, and in Wales, and prevented the treaty from being carried into effect; and, lest he should succeed in gaining his throne by any future compact with the Presbyterian party, or by any reaction of the national feeling in his favour, determined, without delay, to get rid of him by a violent death.

The unfortunate king never seems to have contemplated the possibility that either party of his adversaries would have recourse to this method of solving the difficulty of its position. He believed, and even avowed his belief, that neither party could do without him.

The first flagrant instance of duplicity on the part of Charles, and which was ever afterwards remembered against him as a reason for distrusting him, and constantly employed as a justification of the conduct of his adversaries, occurred early in the time of the Long Parliament, so early as April, 1641. It was the sanction which, in spite of his concessions and conciliating language towards the Parliament, he was discovered to have given to a secret plan of several of his officers for bringing the army from the North to overawe that assembly. The insincerity of his negotiations with the different parties during his captivity, seems to have sealed his fate. The dominant party felt that they could not come to terms with him, feared that he would make terms with their adversaries, and endanger their own interests and perhaps their persons also, and accordingly determined to remove him out of the way.

CHARACTER OF CHARLES I.

Charles I. had virtues and abilities, but not enough of the former to make him venerated or beloved, nor of the latter to make him feared. He was not wise enough to discern the temper of the times, or the necessities of his position, but cherished the false supposition that his lofty notions of regal power were practicable in that age. Accordingly, in the exercise of that power, he went to lengths upon which the Tudors themselves had not ventured, and thus irritated the temper and exhausted the patience of his subjects.

He had no confidence in his own judgment under emergencies, and consequently was perpetually changing his line of policy at the suggestion of different advisers. Unfortunately for his interests, he had a proud and irritable temper, which prompted him to his greatest mistakes, the abrupt dissolution of his Parliaments, and the enterprise of arresting the five members. He was greatly wanting in moral courage; witness his consent to the decapitation of Strafford.

Perhaps his most fatal fault was the want of sincerity, which deterred his opponents from placing confidence in his promises. His manners in his prosperous days were too lofty and distant to encourage much affection from those who surrounded him; hence we find him much betrayed and deserted, when the clouds of adversity began to gather around him.

His public character was chiefly of a negative kind. He was not cruel, he was not rapacious, he was not prodigal, he was not careless of the welfare of his subjects; but he was not distinguished by the opposite of any one of these vices. His administration is signalized by no wise laws, or great or useful institutions, and he was injudicious in the choice of advisers.

Altogether there was a poverty of character in

Charles I., regarded as a king, which disqualified him from being master of the difficult situations in which, through the bitterness of his opponents, and the spirit of the times, he was placed.

He was far better suited for an inferior or private station than for a throne; and, as I have heard it well observed, would have made "an excellent country gentlemen." His virtues were those of private life; he was a good husband and a kind father; with all his imperfections, a good Christian, and a high-minded and accomplished gentleman.

Favouritism was one of the causes of the ruin of Charles I., as of many other weak and amiable princes, such as Edward II. and Richard II. before him. It was a strange infatuation by which he attached himself to his father's unworthy favourite, Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, an elegant but arrogant and insolent courtier, profligate and dissolute, and devoid even of the recommendation of superior abilities. Charles's partiality for this man greatly injured him in the estimation of his people, especially of the Puritans, and contributed to the unpopularity of his Government.

Charles I.'s encouragement of the fine arts, in which none of his predecessors shone, was the part of his conduct as King, for which he is entitled to unmingled praise. Architecture, painting, and sculpture flourished in England, under his fostering hand.

Like many others, Charles I.'s character shone more in adversity than in his prosperous days. He endured his reverses and sufferings with dignity and patience, seeking support and consolation in the exercises of religion. Indeed, his conduct in his latter days won the esteem of many of his enemies.

The Republican Party in the Commonwealth.

It is remarkable with how consummate a combination of boldness and skill the leading Republican and Independent members of the Long Parliament (for though the Independents were Republicans, the Republicans were not all Independents) played their game against the King, and afterwards against the Presbyterians. They seem never to have made a false move, to have neglected a point, or to have omitted a favourable opportunity. Nothing, on the other hand, could easily be more ill-advised than the conduct which the King pursued from the first meeting of the Long Parliament; now entering upon a course of coercion which he could not sustain, and uttering threats which he failed to carry out, and which only irritated and forewarned his opponents, now making concessions which deprived him of power, and by their weakness encouraged instead of conciliating his opponents. In the war, making frequent and fatal blunders, and after it precluding, by delays, by double-dealing, and by stipulations exorbitant in his fallen condition, all possibility of a pacific arrangement with any party.

On the other hand, the Presbyterians, though certainly better advised than the King, lost by a succession of political blunders that "mastery of the situation" which they had once gained in the contest with the King. Their hesitating management of the war lost them much of their control over the army, and the ill-timed imperiousness with which, under their direction, the Parliament attempted to keep down the army, after it had triumphed in the field, provoked the army to assert its independence of Parliament.

But the sagacity and dexterity of the leaders of the Republican and Independent party in the House seldom seemed to desert them in contending with the King, or afterwards with their Presbyterian opponents.

The leading members of this party were, besides Cromwell and Ireton, Sir Harry Vane, St. John, Harry Martin, Ludlow, and perhaps one or two others, cool, astute, and daring politicians, who kept their object always in view, and never faltered in their determinations, or hesitated at the measures, however violent, which appeared necessary to secure their ends.

The Tyranny of Democracy Exemplified in England.

After the execution of Charles I., the Rump Parliament, losing sight of the principles of liberty which they professed, took some of the worst leaves out of the book of despotism. They made it treason to affirm, in speech or writing, that the Commonwealth was unlawful, usurped, or tyrannical; treason to deny the supremacy of Parliament; treason for any, not being of the army (of the army they were afraid), to stir up mutiny or insubordination therein. The press was put under as severe restraint as it had undergone in the time of the monarchy. The use of the Liturgy was forbidden under penalties.

The hand of democratic tyranny is usually heavier than that of despotism. The despot is in some degree restrained by the fear of personal consequences, and sometimes also by the sense of shame. The individual members of a democracy think, by their numbers, to escape human punishment, and they keep each other in countenance by their joint participation in wrongful and oppressive proceedings.

THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY OF 1662.

In the year 1862, being the bicentenary of the year in which the Act of Uniformity was passed and modern Dissent chiefly took its rise, much attention was called to the history of this enactment, which caused the expulsion of two thousand ministers from their livings in the Church of England.

To understand this historical event, it will be necessary to go back to the period of the Rebellion. At the earlier part of that period a large number of the clergy of the Established Church were cast forth from their benefices by the Roundheads. The number of clergymen who were then deprived of their stations in the Church is variously stated. Writers friendly to the cause of the Church of England put the number as high as seven thousand; adverse authorities put it at about two or three thousand.

Possibly it was between the two estimates, and certainly I am inclined to think it must have been higher than the latter estimate represents it. The charges on which these clergymen were expelled were various, such as immoral conduct, negligence in the discharge of their duties, unfitness for their positions, or false doctrine, as the ruling authorities regarded it, which in many cases was none else than the doctrine of the Established

Church. In fact, the Puritans, who now had the upper hand, turned out, to a very great extent, those clergymen whose tenets disagreed with their own. I would here mention, by the way, that the expulsion of the clergy for adhesion to their own Church and its doctrine was not universal; for we find, by their extant biographies, that some eminent divines, noted for their attachment to the Established Church, were permitted to retain their livings, and from their case we may safely infer that some others of like sentiments escaped the deprivation of their benefices.

It may also be noted that those clergy, who were deprived for their opinions, were by an ordinance of the Parliament pensioned with a *fifth* of the proceeds of their former livings. I would also here observe, as throwing light upon the treatment which the established clergy received from the dominant powers, that the public use of the Liturgy of the Church of England *was prohibited under severe penalties* by an ordinance of Parliament.*

Returning to the history of the doings of the Puritan authorities with respect to the benefices of the Church, I proceed to mention that the livings, which had been held by the deprived clergy, were chiefly supplied by ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion, although, no doubt, in some cases Independents, Baptists, and other sectaries were appointed. When the King was restored, all the *surviving* clergy, who had been deprived, were *restored* to the livings which they had originally occupied; but, as would necessarily happen in a period of eighteen years, a large number of the clergy of the Church of England, who had previously held benefices, had died. Their places had been, of course, filled by Presbyterian and other ministers. Hence when the restoration had taken place, there would be a very considerable number of livings in the possession of these ministers, livings of which there were no other lawful claimants.

It is well known that towards the end of the Commonwealth the Presbyterian party joined with the Cavalier party in promoting the Restoration of the King. The members of this party had many of them been in correspondence with the exiled King, who was then in Holland; the royalist rising of Sir George Booth, in Cheshire, which took place the year before the Restoration, was actively favoured and aided by the Presbyterians; and the majority of the Parliament which Monk called, and which restored the King, was composed of Presbyterians. Thus we see how much that party were concerned in the Restoration.

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* N.B. As the King's assent was of course not obtained, the Parliament called its measures "Ordinances" not "Acts" of Parliament. In Plantagenet times there were "Ordinances" as well as "Acts" of Parliament, yet they had the royal assent.

I proceed to mention that the Presbyterian ministers, occupying livings, the original incumbents of which had died, were willing to make a compromise with the Episcopalian or Church party, such as that the affairs of the Church should be governed by the bishops, conjointly with synods of the presbyters (*i.e.*, the clergy of the second order), and they were willing to accept the Prayer-book with a few alterations.

By the "Healing Declaration," as it was called, which Charles II. issued in 1660, as well in other ways, hopes were held out that these terms of the Presbyterian party would be accepted. The Healing Declaration promised, among other things which accorded with the views of the Presbyterians, that the bishops should not ordain or employ the censures of the church without the advice and assistance of the *presbyters*, that there should be in every diocese a council of presbyters, chosen by all the presbyters of the diocese, which together with the cathedral chapter should always advise and assist the bishop in the discharge of his more important functions, that the King should appoint an equal number of divines of the Church party and of the Presbyterians to revise the Liturgy, and (here I quote the exact words as they are important), "We shall leave all decisions of that kind (*i.e.*, about the Liturgy) to the advice of a *National Synod*, which shall be duly called." In the meantime (that is until this national synod should be called) a number of ceremonies, distasteful to the Presbyterians, together with subscription to the Prayer-book and the Thirty-nine Articles, were not to be insisted upon, nor was anyone to suffer in any way for refusing them. These were large concessions apparently. The Presbyterians gladly accepted them, and built upon them strong hopes that matters would be so accommodated as to enable that party conscientiously to conform to the Established Church. But they were doomed to bitter disappointment. The Prayer-book was revised indeed, but by the Church party alone, and rendered even more offensive than before to the religious convictions of the Presbyterians. While all the ceremonies to which they felt objection were retained and enforced, the expressions in the Prayer-book to which they objected were also retained, other expressions equally offensive were added, and, as if to give them gratuitous cause of offence, some of the most questionable parts of the Apocrypha, a book against which they entertained strong objections, were added to the daily lessons of the Church. And to crown the whole work, and to render the position of the Presbyterian holders of benefices untenable, *the Act of Uniformity of* 1662 was passed, ordaining that no one either then or afterwards should hold a benefice without making the following unqualified declaration of adhesion to the Prayer-book: "I, A. B., do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to *all and everything* contained and prescribed in and by the Book entitled the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, together with the psalter or psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches, and the form or manner of making, ordaining and consecrating of Bishops, priests, and deacons."

All the then holders of livings were, by this Act, required, on pain of losing their livings, to make this declaration openly in church, before the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662. Of course this declaration was an obstacle which the conscientious Presbyterians could not surmount. Accordingly after St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, they were ejected to the number of two thousand. Among them were some men eminent for piety, learning, ability, and zeal.

Of these, Richard Baxter, and Edward Calamy, were the most conspicuous. Baxter was offered a bishopric; but this, of course, he could not accept.* The ejected ministers were called "*Nonconformists*," and this name came to be given in common to *all* the Protestant sectaries besides, such as the Independents and Baptists: just as before the rebellion all Protestants who dissented from doctrines or rites of the Church of England were classed under the name of "Puritans." At the present day, all these denominations are designated by the title of "Dissenters," though occasionally the name "Nonconformist" is heard. The two thousand, and upwards, ejected Presbyterian ministers, were followed by a considerable number of laity; and from this secession modern dissent, in a great measure, took its origin. The ejected ministers, in the great proportion of instances, gathered severally around them congregations to whom they ministered, and, together with their hearers, suffered much persecution in the reign of Charles II., under the "Conventicle Act," and the "Five Mile Act," which prohibited their religious assemblies, imposing upon those persons who attended them stringent penalties of fine and imprisonment, and still more stringent penalties of the same kind upon the ministers themselves.

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* But query, was this offer made to him before or after the passing of the Act of Uniformity?

CAUSES OF THE EXPULSION OF JAMES II.

I. The appointment of an Ecclesiastical High Commission in violation of the Act of Charles I., abolishing all such Commissions.

II. The assertion of the King's power to *dispense* with the penal Laws against Romanists and Dissenters, and his conduct in accordance with that claim.

III. The seizure and alteration of the Charters of various corporations.

IV. The forcing the Popish members upon colleges at Oxford, upon Magdalene College in particular.

V. The prosecution of the seven Bishops for refusing to order the clergy of their dioceses to read in churches the King's illegal declaration of Liberty of Conscience.

THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE AFTER 1688.

At the Revolution, and by the *Bill of Rights*, the crown was settled on William and Mary, and on the survivor of them; then on any children of Mary; then on Anne and her heirs; then on any children William might have by a second marriage.

Mary died in 1694, before William, leaving no children. Thereupon was passed the *Act of Settlement*, ordaining that the crown should pass (if neither Anne nor William III. left any heirs), to Sophia, the Electress of Hanover, and her descendants. This Sophia was daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. It was also provided that whoever, after the death of Anne or William, without issue, should come to the throne, should "join in communion with the Church of England."

It had, before, been enacted (in the Bill of Rights), that no Papist should either succeed to the throne, or retain it, and no one marrying a Papist.

THE LEGITIMIST AND PARLIAMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSION.

There have appeared at various intervals in our history two conflicting principles of succession to the throne—the Legitimist principle, and the principle of Parliamentary choice; and we may observe that each of these principles of succession had triumphed in its turn. Thus the title of the House of Lancaster * was founded on the Parliamentary authority—that of the House of York on the Legitimist principle. In the succession of Henry VII. we see the triumph of a quasi-Legitimist principle, and the violation of Parliamentary authority; for by that authority the descendants of Catherine Swynford and John of Gaunt had been expressly debarred from succeeding to the throne.

Again, in James I.'s accession to the English throne, we see the triumph of the Legitimist principle of succession *versus* that of Parliamentary authority; for Henry VIII. had by a will, executed under authority of Parliament, excluded the descendants of the elder or Scottish branch of his family, and settled the crown on the descendants of the younger branch.

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* The principle of hereditary succession had not obtained till Henry III.'s time.

On the other hand, in the exclusion of the male line of the Stuarts, we observe the claims of birth superseded by the right founded on Parliamentary enactments.

NOTES ON ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE PEACE OF UTRECHT TO THE TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

The period which elapsed between the peace of Utrecht and that of Aix-la-Chapelle is perhaps the most uninteresting of any in our history since the Reformation. It was an age of corrupt politics, of sordid money-hunting, of lax opinions, lax morals, and slumberous indolence—an age in which literature and the arts sank into torpor under the influence of the two first Hanoverian kings.

The history of this period is rather difficult to follow, from the intricacy of the negotiations and treaties into which England entered with foreign powers. I propose to refer, in the first instance, to the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, as these terms enter largely into the subsequent polity of England. The articles of the shameful Treaty of Utrecht (1713) were mainly as follows:—

I. Louis XIV. recognized the House of Hanover, and renounced the cause of the Stuarts.

II. He agreed that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united.

III. The fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk to be destroyed.

IV. Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Island of St. Christopher to be ceded to England.

V. and VI. Not worth naming.

VII. England to retain Gibraltar and Minorca, taken from Spain during the war. (N.B. The above were *all* the articles directly regarding the interests of Great Britain.)

VIII. Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and Belgium to be ceded by Spain to the Emperor.

IX. Sicily to go to the Duke of Savoy, and the eventual succession to the crown of Spain, in default of issue of the Bourbon King of Spain, Philip V., to be vested in the House of Savoy.

X. In addition to other places possessed by the

Dutch in Belgium, to strengthen their frontier against the French, there were assigned these four fortified places—Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, and Newport, as a perpetual barrier according to the stipulations of what was called the "Barrier Treaty," which had been signed by England and Holland at the beginning of the year in which the peace of Utrecht was made.

At the same time that we made this treaty with France, we also concluded a treaty with Spain, which contained similar provisions against the union of the crowns of France and Spain. The only other condition of that treaty which need be particularized is the "Assiento," as it was termed, which is worthy of notice as having afterwards entered into the notorious South Sea scheme, and into a subsequent treaty with Spain—the treaty of Seville (1729), a treaty which has been described by an historian of credit as "celebrated and advantageous to England." This "Assiento" (the word means agreement, like assent) was an agreement on the part of Spain to give some country (it was *England*, by this Treaty of Utrecht) the exclusive right of importing negroes from Africa to the South American dominions of Spain. This monopoly had been held by a French company, but was now transferred to the English. I may observe, in passing, the great change of feeling on this subject, which must have taken place in England after about seventy years, when that traffic, which was a coveted prize to this nation, became an object of its abhorrence, and when we determined not only to give up the slave trade ourselves, but to use all our power to prevent others from carrying it on, as it is at this our day. The "lame and impotent conclusion" of the great war of the Spanish Succession, with all the exploits of Marlborough, was very much caused by the disgust of the English people at the length and the costly and sanguinary character of the war.

It was also the result of the party views of Harley and St. John, who saw in the war the means by which Marlborough and the Whigs aggrandised themselves. These Tory leaders, and especially St. John, were aiming at the restoration of the Stuarts, which could not be effected during a war with Louis XIV., the great patron of the Stuarts, and whose aid would probably be necessary to their restoration; and, besides, the popularity which these Tory ministers of Anne would gain by ending the war would greatly aid the realization of their views.

The secret history of the last four years of Queen Anne's reign, which has only come out of late years, shows that these statesmen seriously contemplated the restoration of the Stuarts after the death of the Queen; and it is clear that Anne herself was favourable to the measure. We may, therefore, suppose that, but for her death at a critical time (1714), that family might again have ascended the British throne.

The strength of the Jacobite party lay chiefly among the landed gentry; while the *corporate towns*, with the *monied interest*, were decidedly on the Hanoverian side.

The Jacobites were all either Churchmen or Romanists; while the Dissenters, almost to a man, were attached to the Hanoverians. Hence it may be seen that England was nearly equally divided between the two parties, though the preponderance, on the whole, was with the House of Hanover, as the quiet, the indifferent, and the timid part of the community would naturally be disinclined to commotion and change.

The personal unpopularity of George I. and of George II. tended much to weaken the Hanoverian interest. It is generally believed that, but for the enormous bribery and corruption employed for strengthening the Government by Sir Robert Walpole, the astute Prime Minister of George I. and of his successor, the restoration of the Stuarts might probably have taken place. The clearest proofs of the strength of the Jacobite interest in the earlier years of George I. is supplied by the conduct of the Whig Government in passing the Septennial Act (1716).*

This Act ordained that the Parliament then sitting, and that all future Parliaments, should be continued for *seven* instead of *three* years, unless dissolved by the Crown. The Septennial Act was prompted by the fear lest, in the existing state of popular feeling towards the House of Stuart, a majority, or at least a large minority, of Jacobite members might be elected by the constituencies. This, with other facts, explains the hopes entertained by the Stuart party, and accounts for the insurrections made for placing the Pretender on the throne.

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* The Triennial Act, then repealed, had been passed in 1694 (William III.).

Townshend, and General (afterwards Lord) Stanhope, with Walpole, were at first the principal advisers of George I.

Townshend may be considered as the Prime Minister, but the institution of Prime Minister (which is not even now recognised by the Constitution any more than is the Cabinet Council) had not then been fully established. One would say that Sir R. Walpole, who afterwards rose to supreme power, was the first of our modern Prime Ministers. In two years after George I.'s accession, Townshend and Walpole quarrelled with Stanhope, and the two former went out of office, leaving Stanhope Prime Minister. Stanhope died in 1721, suddenly, from the excitement caused by an attack made in the House of Lords upon the Government, in relation to their conduct about the notorious *South Sea Scheme*, by a certain Duke Wharton. After the death of Stanhope, the Earl of Sunderland, a clever, scheming man, who had been in the Government of Stanhope, was for a short time Premier. He, however, quickly resigned the post on account of his unpopularity in regard to the South Sea scheme, and was succeeded by *Sir R. Walpole*, who ruled almost as a dictator for nineteen years (1721—1742), the longest period that any Prime Minister, excepting Pitt, has ever held office.

The grand object of the Whig ministers, who came into power with the accession of George I., was (as regards foreign politics) to make the best of the shameful treaty of Utrecht, and to confirm its provisions against the union of the Crowns of France and Spain, to prevent which union had been the very object of the war of the Spanish Succession. The Whigs, under Anne, had originated and carried on that war, and were enraged that it should have been ended by so futile a treaty as that of Utrecht, which, as regards the succession, obtained no more effectual security against the dreaded union of the two Crowns than the engagement of Louis XIV. and his grandson Philip, King of Spain, that the Crowns should never be united; as if, even though both of the Kings should keep faith, they could control the actions of their descendants. The immediate object of this war had been to guard against the union in the most effectual way, by placing an Austrian prince upon the throne of Spain, instead of Louis XIV.'s grandson, Philip. The other objects of George I.'s Whig ministers were to punish their predecessors, the Tory ministers of Queen Anne, for their French partialities and Jacobite intrigues, and to reverse all the policy which they had pursued.

I would here mention that under Townshend's administration the *Triple Alliance* was formed between the Regent of *France, England*, and *Holland* (1717).

The chief point of the Triple Alliance was the exclusion of Philip V., the Bourbon King of Spain, from the Succession to the Throne of France. This precautionary means was taken under the apprehension that Louis XV., then a sickly boy, might die, without leaving any children, in which case it was notorious that Philip V. of Spain, who was next to him in blood, would, in direct contravention of the Treaty of Utrecht, claim the Crown of France, and thus unite the two Crowns. The Regent of France, the Duke of Orleans, joined the alliance, because, if Philip of Spain were excluded, he would himself become King of France, in the event of Louis XV. dying at that time. It will be seen that this Triple Alliance was made in support of one of the chief provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht; but in the sequel there was no occasion to enforce its stipulations, as Louis XV. grew up after all to manhood, and had children.

Next year (1718) the Emperor joined this alliance of England, France, and Holland, and it became the Quadruple Alliance. Fresh terms were introduced, the principal of which was a modification of the Treaty of Utrecht, by which treaty Sicily, which had belonged to the Spanish Crown, was given to the Duke of Savoy, and Sardinia to the Emperor. By the Quadruple Alliance it was agreed that this arrangement should be reversed; and after a short war with Spain, called the war of Sicily (1718, 1719, 1720), in which our navy, under Admiral Byng (afterwards Lord Torrington), played a conspicuous and brilliant part, this object of the Quadruple Alliance was accomplished, Sicily was secured to the Emperor, and Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy, who became King of Sardinia, and whose family, at the present day, rule over that island.

This war of Sicily occurred under Lord Stanhope's administration. It may be worth while to mention, in reference to *home* politics, that while Stanhope was Premier, and in the year 1718, two Acts of Parliament were passed for the relief of the Dissenters, one an Act to repeal the *Schism Act*, the other repealing the *Occasional Conformity Act*. A third Act, which pressed severely upon the Dissenters, the Test and Corporation Act, remained unrepealed; and it was not until the Duke of Wellington's administration in 1828, that the Test and Corporation Act was finally rescinded. I may mention, in passing, that even at the present day, the Dissenters are not wholly without restriction, though of a lenient kind. They cannot legally open a place for public worship without first registering it at the Court of Quarter Sessions, or in the Registry of the Bishop of the Diocese. Otherwise they would be liable to punishment as forming a *conventicle*.

Returning, however, to the history of George I.'s times, I notice little else in this reign worthy of particular mention. The South Sea Scheme, to which I have alluded, and which was legalized by Act of Parliament in 1720, is sufficiently explained in the common histories. It was a case of fraud deluding folly, and, by exciting to the highest pitch the passion of cupidity, producing a sort of national madness. Law's Mississippi Scheme, in France, which happened just at the same time, was a similar delusion. In our own day we had a like exhibition of public frenzy in the pursuit of gain—the "Railway Mania" of 1845. In this last instance, as in the South Sea Scheme of 1720, an immense amount of misery and beggary was produced when the bubble burst.

We see in the foreign policy pursued under George I. one evil consequence to England resulting from the accession of a foreign sovereign to the British throne. Our interest and our national policy were made to bend to the interests of Hanover. We were mixed up in constant negotiations and intricate treaties, exposed (in 1716) to the danger of an invasion from Charles XII. of Sweden, and subjected to heavy expense in keeping up armaments, and maintaining, for two or three years, a fleet in the Baltic, merely on account of George I.'s Hanoverian predilections, and in particular because he desired to secure to his Electorate of Hanover two obscure districts called Bremen and Verden, which he had torn away from Sweden. His line of conduct, of course, involved the Government and person of George I. in much unpopularity. Thus, for instance, the Ministry of Lord Stanhope, which was thought to favour the King's Hanoverian projects, was designated by the invidious appellation of the "*German Ministry*."

In order to thread the labyrinth of a series of intricate negotiations and treaties, it is necessary to have, as our clue, a knowledge of the objects for which the different parties were contending. In the diplomatic intercourse among the contracting powers in the present case we find their respective views to have been as follows :—

George I. wished, as I said, to secure Verden and Bremen for Hanover. The Emperor was opposed to this view of George's, and for himself desired to obtain the countenance of the other powers to an ordinance of his own, called the "*Pragmatic Sanction*," by which his daughter Maria Theresa should succeed him, as he had no son. He also desired that the *reversion of the Crown of Spain* should be secured to his family. Spain sought to recover the Italian possessions of the Spanish crown, which had been dismembered from her by the Treaty of Utrecht, and was very anxious to recover Gibraltar and Minorca, which England had secured to herself by the same treaty. France, after the Regent's death, and during the pacific administration of Cardinal Fleury, wished to be on good terms with England, and to avoid a European war.

It should be added that questions of commerce entered largely into these negotiations; for those were days of restricted trade and exclusive privileges, when the true principles of international traffic were almost totally ignored. Among the commercial subjects of contending diplomacy were these : England desired for her merchants, especially those of the West Indies, certain liberties of trafficking with the South American Colonies of Spain, which the action of the Spanish Government frequently impeded, and the rights of the *Assiento*, as settled at Utrecht. England, too, and Holland also, were opposed to the existence of the "*Ostend East India Company*," which the Emperor (to whom Belgium, in accordance with the Treaty of Utrecht, now belonged) had established as the Belgian seaport of that name, and which those two great commercial powers regarded with jealousy as a rival to their own East India companies.

Such then, in George I.'s time, were the views and objects of the different powers in their constant negotiations and treaties with each other.

Of these dealings the principal shall now be mentioned. After the War of Sicily, waged by England and the Emperor against Spain, a treaty was made at Madrid (1721) between England and Spain, and on the same day was signed a treaty of defensive alliance between England, France, and Spain, the principal articles of which were, (1) that England was not to oppose the views of Spain in Italy, from which she had been excluded by the Utrecht treaty, and (2) that France and Spain guaranteed to Hanover, Bremen and Verden, which the Emperor had refused to do. Here we notice that a distinct departure from the *Treaty of Utrecht* was made in the interest of George I. as Elector of Hanover; and recognize a flagrant instance of the pernicious influence upon the policy of England resulting from the German predilections of George I. So much for the treaty of Madrid (1721). In 1725 another treaty took place, much in *contravention* of the last treaty. This of 1725, called the Treaty of Vienna, was between the King of Spain and the Emperor, and resulted from a quarrel between the King of Spain and the French Government, and from the refusal of England to side with Spain in that quarrel.

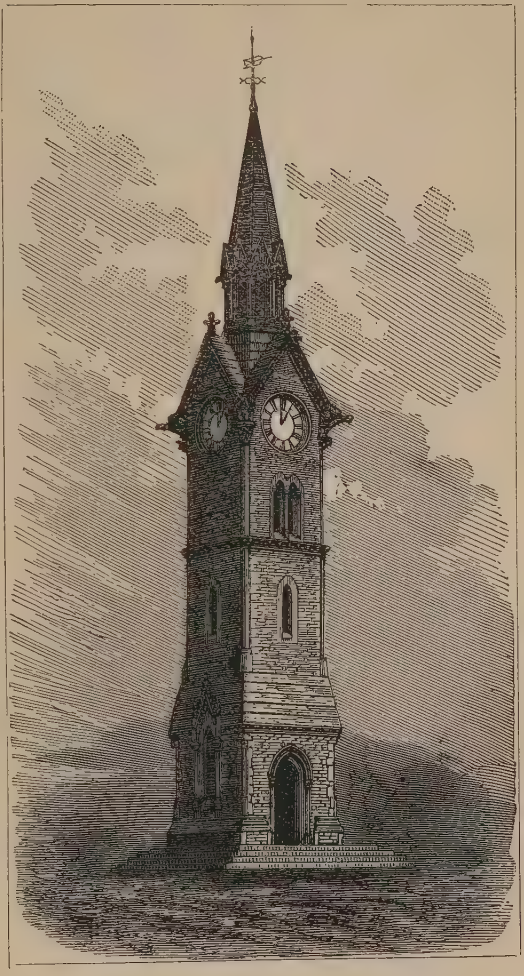
According to this Treaty of Vienna, the King of Spain was to sanction the Emperor's *Ostend East India Company*, to recognize the Emperor's right to *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, and the Netherlands, all the territories which by the *Treaty of Utrecht* had been *dismembered from the Spanish Monarchy*, and to guarantee the "Pragmatic Sanction" aforesaid. On the other hand the Emperor agreed (1) to remove his claim to the Spanish throne; (2) to demand back from England *Gibraltar and Minorca,* the loss of which in the Succession War greatly annoyed the Spanish King; and (3), if England refused the surrender of these places, to join with Spain in aiding the *Pretender* to regain the throne of Great Britain! These two contracting powers (Spain and the Emperor) looking round for some ally to assist them in realizing their bold projects, could find none but the Czarina of Russia, who readily fell into their plans, and also accordingly began to fit out a fleet to co-operate with them against England, and aid in restoring the Pretender.

England, on the other hand, made a treaty of alliance with France, Prussia, Denmark, and Holland, in counteraction of the aforesaid Treaty of Vienna, made between Spain and the Emperor, fitted out with great promptitude a fleet to cruise in the Baltic and intercept the Russian fleet in any attempts to approach our shores, and sent a fleet to harass the Spanish colonies, and, if possible, capture some of the galleons bringing home to Spain the precious metals from their South American mines. All this vigour displayed by the English Government under Walpole, well seconded by money votes in Parliament, brought the Emperor and Spain, with their Russian ally, to a more pacific state of mind, and that with little effusion of blood, and accordingly, in four years after this absurd Treaty of Vienna, came the Treaty of Seville between England and Spain (1729), and with it a defensive alliance between England, Spain, France, and Holland, the articles of which, as regards English interests, were that the Assiento was confirmed, and the trade between our West Indian Colonies, and Spanish South America was somewhat facilitated. Thus peace was restored to England and to Europe. The Treaty of Seville (1729) has been characterized as celebrated and advantageous to England. The ten years between 1729 and 1739 were a period of peace for England; and during it the trade and resources of the country greatly increased under the Government of Walpole, whose greatness as a minister lay chiefly in finance. Excepting in this matter he did, or attempted to do, little in the way of internal improvements, for he was averse to change and, in so unsettled a state of men's minds, with good reason. "Quieta ne movere," was his favourite maxim—"Let well alone;" though he is thought to have carried this maxim too far on several occasions, in forbearing to bring forward measures for the correction of various crying abuses which then existed.

END OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

THE NEW CLOCK TOWER, AYLESBURY.

The accompanying woodcut, given by Mr. R. Gibbs, is a representation of the clock tower erected on the site of the late Market House, in Aylesbury. The original Market House, with a Town Clock, was erected in 1530 by Sir John Baldwin, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, then Lord of the Manor; and King Henry VIII. gave the timber for it. This building was demolished, and the late Market House was erected on its site by the Marquis of Buckingham in 1806, then Lord of the Manor. A clock was added to it in 1848 by Acton Tindal, Esq., on his becoming Lord of the Manor. This building having been pulled down, a new one was erected in 1865 on a different site. Engravings of the latter market house appeared in the Records of the Society, vol. iii. page 129. The new Clock Tower, with four faces, nearly opposite the four cardinal points of the compass, and illuminated at night, has been erected by subscription on the site of the old Market House, to contain the clock and perpetuate the gift of the present Lord of the Manor. The foundation stone was laid by Mrs. Acton Tindal, July 11th, 1876; and the Clock Tower was handed over to the Aylesbury Board of Health, June 25th, 1877, by the Chairman and Treasurer of the Building Committee. Mr. D. Brandon, 24, Berkeley Square, London, was the architect.



THE NEW CLOCK TOWER, AYLESBURY.

Proceedings of the Society, 1877.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on August 1st at Oxford, by invitation from Mr. E. J. Payne, a member of the Society and a fellow of University College. Special arrangements having been made for the excursion, the members and their friends started from Aylesbury by the 9.20 a.m. train, viâ Princes Risborough and Thame. On arriving at Oxford, the party proceeded to the Castle mound, where they were met by Mr. E. J. Payne and Mr. James Parker, and other friends. Having ascended the mound, Mr. Parker gave a general historical account of the city of Oxford, or Oxenford, from its earliest days. The mound probably dates from the year A.D. 912, and was erected for observation, and as a defence against the Danes. These marauders, in their early excursions invariably followed the course of rivers, and it was not until their second and third invasion that they penetrated so far inland as Oxford. It then became necessary to protect the river Thames and its several tributaries, and for that purpose two places were chosen for fortification, London and Oxford, the latter being looked upon as an important central post, and around it naturally sprung up the city. Oxford was the royal residence of the Saxon Monarchs, and three of them are recorded to have died there, Edward the Elder, Edward Ironside, and the first Harold. Referring to the Danes, it appeared that in the great massacre of them on November 13th, A.D. 1002, in the reign of Ethelred, a number of them took refuge in the then existing tower of St. Frideswide's church, and that the tower was then destroyed by fire, while subsequently the Danes under Sweyn, King of Denmark, came and took their revenge by subduing the Saxons and burning the city. A Witena-gemote, or great council of the nation, was held at Oxford, which decided that Harold should have all the country north of the Thames, with London for his capital city, and that Hardicanute should have all the south. The effect which this decision of the council had upon the fate of England was, that Harold, having defeated his rebel brother Tosti at Stamford Bridge, met William the Norman, who with his followers had landed at Pevensey, and fought a battle at Hastings, when he himself was killed, the Saxon dynasty completely overthrown, and the Norman power established in the country. Coming to the Norman Conquest we find, on the authority of Matthew Paris, that Oxford was besieged, but the original ancient record examined by Mr. Parker shows the siege to have been at "Ex" (Exeter), instead of "Ox" (Oxford), and that consequently there was no siege of Oxford at all at that time. The first Norman governor appointed to Oxford by William the Conqueror was Robert de Oili, D'oili, or D'oyley, as his name is variously spelt, who is the generally accepted founder of the Castle. He also erected a church called St. George's, and founded a college of priests in the Castle, also other churches with a similar tower in the Northgate, and other parts of the city; one of these was St. Aldate's, who was a manufactured saint, no such person appearing ever to have existed. After some further remarks, Mr. Parker showed the visitors, on descending the mound, the old well beneath it, and the old Norman crypt, of the latter part of the eleventh century, under the church of St. George. With the exception of the tower, the church has been destroyed. He then led them by D'Oyley's mill, which is mentioned in the Domesday Survey as existing at that time, pointed out part of the original city wall, and finally brought them out into St. Aldate s, and thence to Christ Church Cathedral.

Mr. **Parker** spoke of the past history and recent restorations of this building from the foundation of the nunnery dedicated originally to St. Frideswide, by whom it was founded. St. Frideswide was the daughter of a certain Saxon King, who was desirous on her father's death of retiring from the world, partly to escape an obnoxious suitor. She founded this nunnery, which was more educational than ecclesiastical in its original character and design. The foundation was supposed to have been in 708, and from subsequent bequests it became an important institution. The history of St. Frideswide is represented in one of the ancient stained glass windows. The story of the sainted Saxon princess as thus depicted seems to have been rather singular, as in one of the compartments she appears in a pigstye, praying, while in another she is fleeing from the pursuit of an armed party. The colouring is rich, and there is much vigour in the action and grouping of the various figures. The institution which St. Frideswide founded as a nunnery afterwards changed hands, and became in the year 1220 a monastery, first for seculars and afterwards for regulars. Attention was called to the architectural differences in various details of St. Frideswide's Church, with the remains of the old nave, transepts, and niches of the choir, dating from 1180 to 1196, while Christ Church Chapter House and other portions were of a more recent period. Mr. Parker eulogized, as an example worthy to be followed, the close manner in which some restorations made in the fourteenth century had been carried out by the mediæval architect, upon the lines of the preceding buildings, the lesson so taught being that the true object of restoration ought to be preservation. The Cathedral having been visited, and its leading architectural features described, the party made its way into the Chapter House, and examined the interesting series of historical portraits, including those of Henry VIII. and his two daughters, and of several divines connected with the past history of the Cathedral. Thence issuing into the adjacent Christ Church meadow, after a passing glance at the Broad Walk, they were cordially welcomed within the precincts of Merton College. The edifices previously examined were of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, while Merton furnished fine examples of the early decorated and decorated styles of the thirteenth and fourteenth. The foundation of Merton College was due to Walter de Merton, who originally brought a certain number of students to Oxford, who, in the first instance, were located in hall. The original statutes of the Warden and Fellows of Merton formed the basis for those of all the subsequent colleges but it is remarkable that they were more liberal and less ecclesiastical in their character. The earliest portion of Merton was the choir, commenced in 1280, and which was successively followed by the college treasury in 1285, the vestry in 1310, the library in 1349, and the tower to the second story in 1424. The library, which was one of the most interesting objects in Merton, had apparently originally constituted a series of cells for study, the arrangement of the windows clearly pointing to such a design. Mr. Parker pointed out the various objects of interest, and then the society passed on to University College, where the kind hospitality of Mr. E. J. Payne, formerly of Wycombe, one of the fellows, had provided a liberal and welcome luncheon in the library, to which due justice was done.

Mr. **Payne** rose and shortly addressed the meeting. He said the Master and Fellows of University College were landowners in Buckinghamshire, and he was himself a native of the same county. It gave him great pleasure to see members of the Archæological and Architectural Society of the County of Bucks, and to welcome them in the interesting city of Oxford and in his own college. He then vacated his seat in favour of the Rev. H. Bull, of Lathbury, who proceeded to hold

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The Rev. H. BULL, after a brief reference to his own connection with Oxford, called attention to the business before the meeting, the first thing being the election of their officers. The whole, as they appeared in the programme, were all re-elected.

The Rev. C. LOWNDES, as Treasurer, then read the annual statement of accounts, by which it appeared that the income for the past year was £45 13s. subscriptions, and that there was a balance due to the treasurer of £10 0s. 9d. The accounts had been audited, and the Rev. C. Lowndes said the Society was solvent if the members would pay up their subscriptions. The accounts were then passed, and Mr. J. E. Bartlett and Mr. T. Horwood were appointed auditors. Three new members were proposed—the Rev. A. Riddle, Rev. R. Chilton, and S. Salter, Esq., all of whom were duly elected.

The Rev. H. BULL said he had a pleasing task to perform, that of acknowledging the kindness of Mr. Payne, to whom they were indebted for the entertainment of that day. Mr. Payne, as a fellow of University College, sent them an invitation to visit Oxford, and they were very grateful for the opportunity, and delighted to accept it. Some of the company present had probably seen little or nothing of Oxford before, and he was sure that they must have received a most pleasing impression of it from the able descriptions given them by their friend Mr. Parker. Others might have been over some of the colleges with persons ordinarily called "touts," from whom they would not learn a great deal. He was sure they all felt much indebted to Mr. Payne for his kindness and hospitality, and for the handsome and liberal manner in which he had entertained them. They returned him their best thanks.

Mr. PAYNE thanked them cordially for the compliment, and said they had been indebted not so much to him as to Mr. James Parker for the pleasure which that visit to Oxford had given them. Mr. Parker's learning and ability were well known, and no man had given more time and thought to the history of their ancient city, or was better acquainted with it. He proposed that a cordial and unanimous vote of thanks be given to Mr. Parker for the services he had rendered them that day.

Mr. BULL, having alluded to the kind, clear, and lucid way in which Mr. Parker had explained the various places visited, seconded the resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. PARKER said he was much obliged for the honour done him. They had returned him more thanks than the little he had done merited at their hands. It gave him great pleasure to meet them and give them any information in his power. He was a member of the old Oxford Architectural Society, which claimed the honour of being the first kindred Society in the kingdom, and he could look back for thirty or forty years on the work of that society. He believed that a great deal of the architectural improvements which had been witnessed in Oxford were due to that society, and that at the same time the excellent manner in which recent works of Church restoration had been carried out in Buckinghamshire was due to the Bucks Society. He should feel great pleasure if anything he could do would encourage the continuance of the same good work. He suggested that as it was already four o'clock, and there was much more to be seen, no further time should be lost.

The company then rose, and first visited University Chapel and inspected the carvings of the oak screen and cedar wainscoat which encloses the altar. The old Flemish windows were also inspected, and their colouring pointed out by Mr. Payne. The company then proceeded to the Chapel of All Souls College, the great object of interest being the magnificent restored reredos. The original was erected in the year 1430, the conditions of the bequest made for that purpose being that prayers should be said for the souls of King Henry V. and the English earls and barons who were slain in the wars in France, sculptured representations of whom were placed in the niches. The reredos was damaged by the Puritans, who defaced these figures, but it was questionable if they did so much injury as the subsequent restorations in the time of Charles the Second, when all the projecting parts of the figures were sawn off to make a plain surface. These projections were easily restored by Sir Gilbert Scott; and as Mr. Parker pointed out its leading features, it was impossible to avoid coming to the same conclusion as he did, that the work was one of the grandest specimens of sculptured architecture to be found, not merely in Oxford, but anywhere else. The new work can be easily distinguished from the old, and it is a work which must be seen to be appreciated. A somewhat hurried inspection of New College Chapel, also Worcester College Hall, and Library, was then made, which brought the very interesting and instructive excursion to a close, time not permitting further exploration of those glorious structures which must ever render Oxford the most interesting of English cities to the architectural and archæological student. The party left Oxford by the six p.m. train, having spent a delightful and profitable day, and wishing the remaining part of the programme may be perfected on a future occasion.

The members of the Society are greatly indebted to Messrs. James Parker and E. J. Payne, who spared no trouble or labour in advancing the objects of the meeting.

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Page 54, line 57, *for* Barns, *read* Baines.
„ 100, „ 9, *for* John, *read* James.
„ 186, „ 25, *for* Thomas, *read* John.
„ 212, „ 28, *for* Queen Eleanor's, *read* Market.
„ 215, „ 39, *for* Jewel's Book of Sports, *read* Jewel's Defence of the Apology.
„ 388, „ 17, *for* Windover, *read* Wendover.

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Page 1, line 18, *for* Water *read* Whaddon.
„ 158, „ 7, *for* front, *read* post.
„ „ „ 11, *for* part, *read* post.
„ 159, „ 5, *for* arms, *read* Cross.
„ 164, „ 31, *for* gifts, *read* fifth.
„ 165, „ 16, *for* gile, *read* gib.
„ „ „ 18, *for* Dockman, *read* Dockmore.
„ „ „ 28, *for* Hooks, *read* Hades.

BOT [redacted]